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CONTENTS
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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Karpov Says No 'Practical Accords' Reached in Geneva AA 1
U.S. Expert Views Test Ban Verification AA 1
Bovin Urges Flexibility In Arms Talks AA 2
Brazilian Parliament Supports Disarmament AA 3

WORLD & REGIONAL ISSUES

Cuba's Malmierca Speaks at Namibia Conference CC 1
Human Rights Committee Session Opens in Geneva [Shishlo] CC 6

UNITED STATES & CANADA

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 'Rejoinder' on Weinberger SDI Remarks [Matvyev, 9 Jul] A 1

CHINA

RENMIN RIBAO on CPC's International Communist Ties [PRAVDA 4 Jul] B 1
Friendship Delegation Departs for Beijing 2 July B 1

NORTHEAST ASIA

Solovyev Delegation Leaves DPRK, Returns Home [PRAVDA 9 Jul] C 1
USSR-DPRK Treaty Jubilee Highlighted [PRAVDA 6 Jul] C 1
Shevardnadze, DPRK Counterpart Exchange Messages [IZVESTIYA 6 Jul] C 3
Aliyev, DPRK's Kim Hwan Address Rally [IZVESTIYA 6 Jul] C 3
U.S.-Japanese Naval Maneuvers Noted C 5

SOUTHEAST ASIA & PACIFIC

Correspondent Describes Attempted Philippine Coup [PRAVDA 8 Jul] E 1

WESTERN EUROPE

Reportage on Mitterrand's Visit to Moscow Continues G 1
  Mitterrand 7 July Speech [PRAVDA 9 Jul] G 1
  Visit to Star City G 4
  Gorbachev on Space Cooperation [Paris] G 5
  Mitterrand TV Address G 6

    - Final Talks in Kremlin G 7
    - Foreign Ministry Press Conference G 9
    - Mitterrand at Press Conference G 9
    - Official Send-Off G 10
- Sokolov To Visit Finland in 'Mid-July' G 10
- Supreme Soviet Delegation Departs for Turkey G 10

MIDDLE EAST & NORTH AFRICA

- Amir Accepts Kuwaiti Government's Resignation [IZVESTIYA 6 Jul] H 1
- Israel's Nuclear Developments Assessed [Dymov in IZVESTIYA 4 Jul] H 1

LATIN AMERICA & CARIBBEAN

- U.S. Playing 'Double Game' in Chile [Lavrentyev] K 1
- Uruguayan Foreign Minister To Visit in July [PRAVDA 9 Jul] K 2
- Supreme Soviet Receives Brazilian Delegation K 2

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

POLITICAL & SOCIAL DEVELOPMENTS

- Further on Aftermath of Chernobyl Accident R 1
    - Evacuees Return Home R 1
    - Problems Tackled R 1
    - Field Revival Methods [PRAVDA UKRAINY 2 Jul] R 1
    - Alcohol-Radiation Link Refuted [PRAVDA UKRAINY 5 Jul] R 4
- Further Reportage on Ligachev in Voronezh R 6
    - Speaks at Award Ceremony R 6
    - Tours Oblast R 6
- Procurator General on Eradicating Unearned Income [Kondratov] R 7
- Markov Report to Writers Union Congress 24 June [LITERATURNAYA GAZETA 25 Jun] R 15

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS

- Editorial on Economical Use of Fuel, Energy [PRAVDA 27 Jun] S 1
- Kunayev Speaks on Kazakhstan's Economic Development S 1
- Dolgikh Attends Maritime, Fleet Workers Meeting S 2
- Minister Summarizes Maritime Transport Industry S 2
- Briefs: Azerbaijan Aviation S 3

KARPOV SAYS NO 'PRACTICAL ACCORDS' REACHED IN GENEVA

LD091302 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1145 GMT 9 Jul 86

[Text] Moscow, 9 Jul (TASS) -- The fifth round of the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space weapons in Geneva ended without any practical accords whatsoever, said Viktor Karpov, leader of the Soviet delegation and head of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Department on Arms Limitations and Disarmament Problems, in an interview given to a NOVOYE VREMYA magazine correspondent. The interview is published in the 28th issue of the weekly.

It is true that the U.S. side, as the U.S. President also declared, expressed a readiness to study the Soviet proposals and reply to them. The question is only what this reply will be. One hopes that it will be positive and that the following round will yield specific results. The deciding word is up to the U.S. side. The USSR's position at the talks creates real opportunities to reach accord on the whole range of problems of space and nuclear arms this year, emphasized V. Karpov.

We are engaged in a constructive search for mutually acceptable practical solutions and we do not seek unilateral advantages of military superiority for ourselves. We are ready to make both the most radical of decisions and intermediate decisions. Moreover, we do not set an ultimatum. On the contrary, we take into account the other side's position.

However, I am not inclined to fall into euphoria, noted the head of the Soviet delegation. A sober appraisal both of the state of affairs at the talks and of the actions undertaken by the United States outside the framework of the talks is needed. After all, Washington has officially announced its refusal to continue to observe the accords enshrined in the SALT I and the SALT II agreements. If the United States proceeds along the path of developing more and more new types of strategic arms -- as is envisaged by their programs -- such a development of events will certainly not facilitate success in the talks.

It is known that in essence the U.S. SDI program runs counter to the ABM Treaty. And it is not a coincidence, for instance, that U.S. Defense Secretary Weinberger has repeatedly stated that at some stage of its implementation the United States will come to face the necessity of either reviewing the treaty or simply abandoning it altogether.

The U.S. side has repeatedly stated that it is ready to hold a Soviet-American summit. But if the United States is really interested in a meeting of this kind, then it should, by concrete deeds, confirm its proclaimed readiness to reach concrete and practical solutions in the field of disarmament, said Viktor Karpov.

U.S. EXPERT VIEWS TEST BAN VERIFICATION

LD091248 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 8 Jul 86

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Thomas Cochran, who was leading a group of seismological experts from the New York based National Resources Defense Council, has told a news conference in Moscow that the group came to the Soviet Union to demonstrate that verification is no obstacle to a nuclear test ban, and that the United States and Soviet Union can cooperate in this objective.

According to Cochran current international monitoring is adequate to verify any comprehensive test ban that might be agreed on. Any test carried out and not detected, the New York expert said, would be so small as to be of no military significance.

This opinion is (?now dominant). The possibility of reliable control has become obvious. Every nuclear explosion in Nevada, just as any nuclear explosion anywhere, was immediately registered in the Soviet Union, Sweden and other countries. Nevertheless, the Soviet Union is ready to agree to practically any measures in addition to existing measures so as to ensure reliable observance of a total test ban.

For nearly a year now, since the 6th of August last year, the Soviet Union has honored a unilateral suspension of all nuclear explosions, both peaceful and military. Moscow urges Washington to follow suit. A joint action of this kind would be a landmark in the direction of nuclear disarmament, and would help to rid humanity of the threat of nuclear war. If Washington were to agree to a mutual test ban with the Soviet Union, the ban would have the strictest verification. A verification system would include both existing seismic stations, of which there are more than 200 in the United States alone, and new, specially established facilities. Use could be made of the services offered by six countries of various continents: India, Argentina, Mexico, Tanzania, Greece and Sweden. On-site inspection, suggested by the Soviet Union, could also be used. In short, verification is no problem.

The Soviet Union is ready to agree to the verification of any agreement, whether it be a complete ban on nuclear explosions, or an agreement for the reduction of nuclear weapons and their total elimination. This willingness is a practical expression of the Soviet belief that the nuclear age requires new thinking. Everything must be done to save the nations from a holocaust. But unfortunately there is still nothing new to verify. The Soviet Union and the United States have not signed a single arms control agreement since the present American Administration took over the reins of government. More than that, Washington is openly refusing to observe agreements signed earlier. These actions of the administration are so obvious that no verification is needed.

BOVIN URGES FLEXIBILITY IN ARMS TALKS

LD090952 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0833 GMT 9 Jul 86

[Text] Moscow, 9 Jul (TASS) -- The fundamental importance of the SALT I and the SALT II agreements, which have, in fact, been cancelled by the White House, consists, in particular, in the fact that they proved that it is possible for the USSR and the United States to reach accords on the most cardinal questions, writes Aleksandr Bovin in the 10th issue of the KOMMUNIST journal. Since that time, the political pendulum in the United States has swung sharply to the right, having shown for the umpteenth time just how difficult it is to come to a full comprehension of the realities of the nuclear age, with what stubborness imperialism pursues its imperial policies.

Taking into account mutual interests is a point of departure, the foundation for the working out of compromises and mutually acceptable decisions, notes the author. When partners are equal, only such decisions are possible. Compromise is the air without which constructive policies will choke. In order for both partners to be able to move forward, each of them should go back, that is, to sacrifice a part of its preliminary demands in the name of accord. Naturally, each partner has scope for concessions, a scope determined by the highest interests of state security, by its obligations toward its allies.

Along with that, experience shows that firmness in defending fundamentally important positions by no means excludes great flexibility, maneuverability, and compliance across the broad spectrum of great and small problems.

An orientation toward a search for compromises is incompatible with the advancement of categorical demands and obligatory conditions. An ultimatum, with equal rights and equality of sides, limits above all the one who brings it forward. An ultimatum freezes the position, hinders one from taking into account the changes in circumstances, ruptures the line of reciprocal contact which allows policies to be corrected.

One must not turn away from the harsh reality, A. Bovin stresses in conclusion. As long as nuclear weapons exist, a nuclear war is possible. But such a war is not inevitable. And the task of politics, the most major task now facing mankind, consists in reducing the likelihood of nuclear war and bringing it to nought. A new way of thinking is an essential prerequisite for a successful performance of that task.

BRAZILIAN PARLIAMENT SUPPORTS DISARMAMENT

LD051330 Moscow TASS in English 1248 GMT 5 Jul 86

[Text] Moscow July 5 TASS -- The other day the Foreign Affairs Commission of the National Congress of Brazil discussed the Soviet initiatives on the elimination of nuclear and toehr wepons of mass destruction.

The Brazilian parliamentarians passed a resolution, which appreciates the Soviet Union's appeal to all the nations and states to support the program of the elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000 as very important and timely. "It is clear to every unbiased person that the fulfilment of the program cannot harm anyone but could benefit all," the resolution reads. "It reflects the interests of the whole of mankind and can and must be implemented by joint efforts. The sooner the practical implementation of the program starts, the safer life on our planet will be."

The commission voiced its conviction of the need "to arrive at the third millennium with major projects for the peaceful exploration of outer space by the whole of mankind rather than with a 'Star Wars' program. To prevent the projection of the arms race into outer space means to contribute to the progress of mankind." It also urged support for the Soviet Union's unilateral moratorium on all nuclear testing.

"We also want the year 1986 to become more than year of peace, namely, to make it possible to close the 20th century under the keynote of peace and nuclear disarmament," the Brazilian parliamentarians stated.

CUBA'S MALMIERCA SPEAKS AT NAMIBIA CONFERENCE

LD092324 Moscow TASS in English 1900 GMT 9 Jul 86

[Text] Vienna July 9 TASS -- Follows speech delivered by the minister of foreign affairs of Cuba, H.E. Isidoro Malmierca at the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia.

Only a few weeks ago we met in Paris, at the 2nd World Conference on Sanctions Against South Africa, to condemn the inhuman policy of the apartheid regime and examine the actions we should take to do away with that disgraceful system of exploitation which has been institutionalized against the black South African and Namibian peoples.

Today we are the recipients of the Austrian government's and people's hospitality in this International Conference on the Immediate Independence of Namibia to consider what steps could and should be taken by the international community to make possible that the territory -- illegally occupied and ruthlessly exploited -- be no longer a South African colony and become as we all demand, a new independent and sovereign state in the African continent ruled, of course, by SWAPO, the sole and legitimate representative of its people.

Namibia is today, by the doings of the racist Pretoria regime and the support of the United States, one of the last colonial strongholds still lingering in the world.

The Namibians -- used as a source of cheap labor to increase the already enormous fortunes of South Africans, Americans, and of other powers allied to these -- suffer racial discrimination, hunger, poverty, squalor, and the high rates of unemployment, mortality, children mortality and lack of schooling to the same or even greater extent than their South African brothers and sisters. Likewise, they are confined to reserves or "Banthustans", from whose poor soils they cannot obtain even the simplest products for their sustenance.

The foreign economic interests taking part in the exploitation of Namibia include many of the most powerful firms and financial institutions in the world, from South Africa, Israel, West Europe and North America.

On many occasions, the United Nations have pointed at the United States, Canada, France, the United Kingdom and Federal Germany as the main South African commercial partners. It is not surprising then, that some transnational corporations from these and other Western countries participate actively in the exploitation of Namibia's natural and mining resources and conduct their activities with the sole object of protecting their shareholders' interests. The number of transnational corporations operating in Namibia amounts to 88, of which 35 are based in South Africa, 25 in the United Kingdom, 15 in the United States, 8 in the Federal Republic of Germany, 3 in France, and 2 in Canada. All of them operate through licenses granted by the racist Pretoria regime or by its illegal administration in Namibia.

In 1981 alone, the illegal South African Administration approved above 250 licenses for the surveying of minerals in Namibia. The taxes levied by the apartheid regime to mining firms operating in Namibia are smaller than for those operating in South Africa itself. It has permitted capital expenses to be accounted for as fiscal discounts to be deducted from net profits, has allowed the unlimited extraction of minerals and has exerted no pressure on mining firms to process ores in the country.

So, those who benefit directly from Namibia's natural resources are not its black natives, but the racist South Africa, the minority white population and the magnates of the foreign transnational corporations. The latter give direct support to the illegal racist regime by introducing large amounts of capital, paying taxes, and developing major sources of profits in foreign currency, and also serve to strengthen and perpetuate the illegal occupation of Namibia by part of South Africa.

That is why we proclaim the right of the Namibian people and SWAPO to struggle by all means within their reach, including armed struggle, against the South African colonialists and racists. At the same time we request unswerving and unconditional support for their fighters and rejection to the attempt to having South Africa impose puppets participate in any negotiation. [sentence as received]

We claim this right for the whole of the Namibian territory, including Walvis Bay and the Penguin Islands, which the South Africans try to steal through yet another manoeuver.

In Angola, an independent state bordering on Namibia, there are forces of Cuban internationalist fighters. They arrived there in 1975, when the Government of Angola, which had just reached independence after long struggle against Portugal's colonial domination, requested Cuban solidarity, assistance to face the invasion by the army of the apartheid regime, which wanted to extend its frontiers, dismember Angola, and establish forward basis for new aggressions against independent African states.

In late 1975 and early 1976, the South African troops penetrated deep into Angola and advanced hundreds of kilometers from the Namibian border.

Cuba's internationalist forces fought beside the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola, to first stop, and then setback the South African invaders, who were forced to withdraw in defeat and leave Angolan territory by crossing the Cunene River on March 27, 1976.

After rejecting the invaders, and contributing to defend Angola's territory integrity, sovereignty, and independence, the Cuban internationalist fighters, in fulfilment of agreements signed with the Government of Angola, started their withdrawal, their return to Cuba.

New aggressions by the South African racists and other threats to Angola's sovereignty and independence, made it necessary to stop the return to Cuba by the internationalist fighters and forced a reinforcement of their numbers.

The presence of Cuban fighters in Angola has always been determined by their willingness to fulfill the internationalist duty of defending the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of Angola, which has suffered, for over ten years, constant agressions by the South African racists and the mercenary bands at their service, which have also enjoyed the unmasked support of the United States' government.

The mercenary bands of UNITA exist only due to the support, of all sorts, they receive from their masters in Pretoria and Washington.

Namibia's territory, illegally occupied by the South African racists, has served as a basis for their constant attacks against Angola and other frontline states, as well as rearguard and supply basis for UNITA mercenary bands.

As early as 1986, South African occupation of Namibia was declared illegal by the United Nations.

South Africa did not accept that decision and persisted in their illegal occupation of Namibia.

At the time, Angola's territory was occupied by Portugal's colonial troops, allies to (?the racist) Pretoria regime, but this did not prompt South Africa to show a readiness to accept the U.N. decisions and allow the process of Namibian independence to take place.

In 1978 the United Nations Security Council adopted the Resolution 439, as proposed by the United States, Great Britain, France, and other states, providing for a peaceful process towards Namibian independence.

In 1978 the Cuban internationalist forces had been in Angola for almost three years, but Resolution 439 did not make any reference to their presence in Angolan territory.

It was only natural that it should be so, since Cuba's military presence in Angola is not related to Namibia's independence, but to the defense of Angola's territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence.

Nonetheless, as 11 know, the South African racists and their American allies, those of "constructive engagement", created a pretext to hinder the implementation of Resolution 435, by trying to link the process of Namibia's independence with demanding the withdrawal of the Cuban internationalist fighters from Angola.

South Africa's occupation of Namibian territory has been illegal for over 20 years and the racists have always refused to acknowledge the right of the Namibian people to independence, therefore, the so called "linkage" theory can dupe and mislead no government, no serious expert.

We can talk of a "linkage", of a link between the Cuban military presence in Angola and the independence of Namibia, or rather, the existence of apartheid. The platform submitted by the Angolan Government to the United Nations secretary general to guarantee Angola's independence and territorial integrity, and streamlining the implementation of Resolution 435 of the Security Council was objective and sensible in proposing a program that provided for a gradual withdrawal of the Cuban troops in the southern detachment once South African support for UNITA counterrevolutionary bands ceased, the racists troops still occupying part of the Angolan territory withdrew, and the provision of Resolution 435 for Namibia's indpendence started (?to be) implemented.

That was a link, a linkage, which would satisfy the interests of the peoples in the region and one endorsed by the OAU summit.

What went wrong? South African arrogance rejected that proposal and continued demanding the pretext of the withdrawal of the Cuban troops as a prerequisite for promising, and later to start implementation of esolution 435.

Their "will" to take just one step that would lead to Namibian independence, inexistent will then, despite the permanent clamor by the international community, became more apparent not only with this insolent refusal, but also with successive attacks against Angola and other frontline states. One of such attacks deserves to be highlighted because of its uniqueness: the attempt against U.S. gulf oil deposits located in Cabinda.

Cuba, which is ready to remain in Angola as long as necessary in order to fulfill its solidary internationalist duty, has affirmed on many occasions, and particularly in statements by President Fidel Castro, that the Cuban internationalist troops, in accord with the government of Angola, will start pulling out from Angolan territory the same day the apartheid regime disappears and Namibia obtains its independence.

As long as there exists the regime of apartheid, there will be neither peace nor security in Southern Africa.

Many a time we have expressed our will to contribute to Namibia's independence, to support SWAPO, the sole and legimate representative of the Namibian people, and to show that readiness we have opened our arms to Namibian children and youth to study in Cuba, in the Isle of Youth, and may prepare themselves for the future of independent Namibia.

Above 1,400 Namibian students are being trained to fight tomorrow as doctors, against disease and squalor killing more than 145 children of 1,000 born alive in the first year of life, or as teachers, to fight illiteracy prevailing in children, youth, and adults, or to fight as engineers and architects, as farming experts or veterinaries against the dire heritage of technological backwardness and underdevelopment, imposed on the Namibian people by the ferocious South African racists.

Namibia's territory is rich, but its people live in poverty, backwardness, and ignorance.

Those Namibian youngsters arrived in Cuba some years back. Among them are the survivors of the Kissinga massacre, perpetrated in 1978 by the South African racists against Namibian refugees in Angolan soil. They arrived suffering many diseases, and many were wounded as a result of South African vandalism.

Those youngsters are now totally changed and they are the admiration of the visitors to their schools in the Isle of Youth, among which we must mention former U.N. Secretary General, Kurt Waldheim and the incumbent U.N. Secretary general, Javier Perez de Cuellar, and almost all the heads of state or government of the frontline states, among many leaders from all over the world.

More than 40 years ago the United Nations knew of the situation brought about in Namibia by the illegal occupation of that territory by the Pretoria racist regime.

This year it will be 20 years since the adoption by the U.N. General Assembly of Resolution 2145 of 1966 which gave the United Nations primary responsibility on Namibia.

In 1978, the U.N. Security Council adopted resolution 435 providing the process of Namibian independence.

But Namibia continues suffering the illegal occupation of its territory, by South Africa's racist troops, which has flouted all agreements, all resolutions, all the calls. And not only do they impose the hateful apartheid on the Namibian people and sack their natural riches, but also they have turned that territory into a forward basis to launch constant military aggressions against Angola and the other frontline states.

The South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) was created more than 25 years ago, in April 1960. It has struggled constantly to achieve Namibia's independence.

Namibia's independence will be the result of its people's struggle, headed by SWAPO and the actions by its military wing, the People Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN). The struggle within Namibia, international solidarity with SWAPO and sanctions against South Africa will be driving forces in Namibia's independence process.

Many a time the United Nations Security Council has tried to impose sanctions on South Africa for having violated the most elementary rules of international law. But the allies of the South African racists -- the U.S. and Great Britain -- have vetoed such sanctions and prevented their implementation.

In the case of Great Britain, its support to the Pretoria regime and the hateful apartheid has made itself clear within the British Commonwealth and the European Economic Community when they have prevented sanctions against South Africa.

It is in the face of the evidence of such blockade to the decisions of U.N. and other international organizations that the special ministerial Namibia conference of the Coordinating Bureau of the Nonaligned Movement, held in New Delhi in April 1985, urged all states, until the mandatory sanctions against South Africa provided for in chapter 7 of the Charter of the United Nations are imposed, to take voluntary action to sever links and relations -- commercial and of every kind -- with the racist Pretoria regime.

These measures should include:

1) breaking diplomatic relations,

2) observance of an oil embargo,

3) taking back existing investments, prohibition of new investments, and application of deterring measures to that end,

4) withholding overflight and landing rights for aircraft and right of entry at dock for transoceanic ships,

5) prohibition to the sale of krugerrands and other coins minted in South Africa,

6) strict observance of the sports and culture boycott in South Africa, and

7) ratification and implementation of the international convention on repression and punishment of the crime of apartheid.

The more than 1,400 Namibian students in Cuba sent a message to the ministerial Namibia conference of the Nonaligned Movement stating:

"We will defeat the hateful apartheid regime and build a free, happy prosperous, and independent Namibia.

"That's what we are training for. To be the builders of a better future, to be capable of opening roads and building schools, of harnessing rivers and conquering deserts, of putting the soil and the minerals to the service of our people".

And later they added:

"The Namibian people has been suffering colonial occupation and rule for 100 years now. But there were centuries of history b ehind the Namibian people when foreign domination started,and we will be able to write other many centuries of history of independent Namibia".

We are convinced that is the future of the Namibian people: freedom and independence.

And they will gain that because they fight for it and because they are not alone in their struggle.

HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTEE SESSION OPENS IN GENEVA

LD081222 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0625 GMT 8 Jul 86

[By TASS correspondent V. Shishlo]

[Text] Geneva, 8 Jul (TASS) -- The 28th session of the Committee on Human Rights has opened at the Palais des Nations in Geneva. It will examine reports by states on the fulfillment of their obligations under the international agreement on civil and political rights. In particular, those takingpart in the session will discuss reports from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, the Congo, and Tunisia.

A.P. Movchan, the USSR's representative in the committee, noted in a conversation with a TASS correspondent that the regular presentation of reports from the socialist countries is convincing evidence of their active participation in international cooperation in the field of human rights. Thus, the committee recently examined reports from the USSR, the Ukrainian SSR, and the Belorussian SSR and gave them a high appraisal, including the latest Soviet peace initiatives. As is known, the human rights committee has stressed that efforts by states to prevent nuclear disaster are a clear indicator of their desire to secure that most important human right, the right to life. The committee also decided that the testing, production, and deployment of nuclear weapons must be stopped. The USSR's unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests and the Soviet program for delivering mankind from nuclear disaster, contained in the 15 January statement by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev, are real and convincing evidence of our country's support for this humane call by the human rights committee.

As far as the United States is concerned, it ignores these committee decisions and its work and is still unwilling to participate in an international pact on civil and political rights. Official Washington loves to act as a "champion" of human rights, but, in fact, is an opponent of international cooperation aimed at encouraging universal respect of human rights and basic freedoms for all, without any discrimination whatsoever.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 'REJOINDER' ON WEINBERGER SDI REMARKS

PM091109 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Jul Second Edition p 3

[A. Matvyev "Rejoinder": "Beyond His Understanding?...]

[Text] "True enough, whom God wants to punish, he first makes mad." These words of Gogol's city governor sprang to mind on reading the text of U.S. Defense Secretary Weinberger's speech at a conference of the Space Research Foundation, although this speech, devoted to a glorification of the "star wars" program, was no more insane than all the others. The point is simply that this time the Pentagon chief himself reported on a severe weakening of his mental capacities. Attacking those who do not share his militarist positions, he stated that their views are beyond his, Weinberger's understanding. Yet it was a question of very simple things. Judge for yourselves.

"SDI, we are assured, is impracticable, it will be... destabilizing, and will give impetus to the arms race in space," Weinberger argues. "But how a technically impracticable military system can at the same time be destabilizing is incomprehensible to me." And more. "Certain people in Congress are still trying to kill off our highly promising research in the strategic defense spheres, and the same group of people demand the observance of an arms treaty (the SALT II treaty -- editor's note), which... is fundamentally flawed. How can you reject what inspires hope, and hold on to what is flawed? That is beyond my understanding," the Pentagon chief wonders, not without pathos.

In reality there is nothing "incomprehensible" about what Weinberger is discussing. For some years now work has been in progress in the United States to create space strike arms under the so-called "strategic defense initiative." This "star wars" program, the Pentagon dreams, would guarantee the impunity of American nuclear aggression against the USSR by shielding the United States from a retaliatory strike. Many scientists and military specialists in various countries believe that such an antimissile defense system cannot be effective. Especially since the USSR will not sit idly by and watch people across the ocean creating space weapons. In order to restore equilibrium the Soviet Union will be forced to take the necessary measures to neutralize the electronic-space "star wars" machine which the Americans are creating. That is why one can say that the objectives of the "strategic defense initiative" are unattainable.

But in itself this program is highly dangerous and destabilizing, even today. And not only because its implementation leads to a new spiral in the arms race. The creation of an ABM system with space-based components could give the Pentagon strategists the illusion of being able to act with impunity. After all, they regard SDI as an element in their first nuclear strike strategy. In the hope that this program will be realized, the Pentagon has embarked on an unrestrained buildup of offensive nuclear arms: MX ballistic missiles, Trident missile-carrying submarines, strategic aircraft, cruise missiles.

But the SALT II treaty was hampering the Pentagon people. So Washington declared the treaty to be "flawed," and the United States refused to observe it. As you can see, the renunciation of SALT II is directly connected with the "star wars" program. And of course there is nothing surprising in the fact that the very people who are opposed to SDI are demanding the observance of the SALT II treaty. And Weinberger is evidently well aware of all that. He is only feigning "incomprehension." But as people so rightly say: He who will not open his eyes, cannot see.

RENMIN RIBAO ON CPC's INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST TIES

PM080900 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Jul 86 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "RENMIN RIBAO Article"]

[Text] Beijing, 3 Jul -- RENMIN RIBAO carries an article which, on the occasion of the 65th anniversary of the CPC's creation, touches on questions concerning the CPC's ties with the international Communist movement.

Speaking of the CPC's work in the sphere of foreign ties, the 65-year history of its existence contains successes as well as, of course, shortcomings and errors, the article says. Ties between the CPC and the majority of Communist parties were broken off while the "cultural revolution" was taking place in China.

"Following the crushing of the 'Gang of Four,'" RENMIN RIBAO goes on to write, "our party overcame the abnormal situation and gradually introduced order in the course of work in the foreign relations sphere." The newspaper reports that at present the CPC maintains various ties with 200 Communist, progressive, and friendly ruling parties in other states.

Our party, the article points out, adheres to Marxism and internationalism and simultaneously adheres to the principle of all parties' autonomy and independence [samostoyatelnost i nezavisimost]. In the past, however, we experienced shortcomings and errors in the sphere of maintaining ties with Communist parties in other countries and this led to negative consequences.

The CPC is a component of the international Communist movement, and our efforts in the sphere of foreign relations are aimed at contributing to the healthy development of the movement, the article concludes. That is why, the newspaper notes, "we believe that, no matter what difficulties may appear along the path forward, no matter what zigzags may occur, a new situation will ultimately prevail in the international Communist movement thanks to joint and protracted efforts by parties in different countries."

FRIENDSHIP DELEGATION DEPARTS FOR BEIJING 2 JULY

OW050545 Moscow in Mandarin to China 0200 GMT 3 Jul 86

[Text] A delegation from the USSR Union of Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries and the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society left Moscow for Beijing on 2 July. The delegation is led by Ivanov, first deputy chairman of the Presidium of the Union.

Other members of the delegation are Solntsev, deputy chairman of the central council of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society and deputy director of the Oriental Studies Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences; and (Chalizonova), general manager of the (Chiyamsky) (?sewing) company in Moscow. The delegation is making a friendly visit to Beijing at the invitation of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign and the Chinese-Soviet Friendship Association.

SOLOVYEV DELEGATION LEAVES DPRK, RETURNS HOME

PM100838 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jul 86 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Soviet Delegation Returns"]

[Text] Pyongyang, 8 Jul -- The Soviet party and government delegation headed by Yu. F. Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of Leningrad CPSU Obkom, left for home today. It had been taking part in events devoted to the 25th anniversary of the Soviet-DPRK Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Aid at the invitation of the Workers Party of Korea [WPK] and the DPRK Administration Council.

The delegation was compromised of P.S. Fedirko, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of Krasnoyarsk party Kraykom, and candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee V. Yazkuliyev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and N.M. Shubnikov, USSR ambassador to the DPRK.

The delegation was seen off at the airport by Yon Hyong-muk, member of the WPK Central Committee Politburo and first vice premier of the DPRK Administration Council; Kye Ung-cae, candidate member of the WPK Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the WPK Central Committee, and other officials.

The delegation was met at the airport in Moscow by V.I. Dolgikh, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo; G.S. Tarazevich, member of the CPSU Central Committee and deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; and other officials.

Kwon Hui-kyong, DPRK ambassador to the USSR, was among the welcoming party.

USSR-DPRK TREATY JUBILEE HIGHLIGHTED

PM091012 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Jul 86 First Edition p 4

[Own correspondent V. Razuvayev dispatch: "An Important Milestone"]

[Excerpts] Pyongyang, Jul -- Twenty-five years ago, 6 Jul 1961, the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between the Soviet Union and the DPRK was signed in Moscow. The years that have elapsed have shown that it is yielding good fruit and serving the development and enrichment of traditional Soviet-Korean friendship and fruitful cooperation as well as the interests of the entire socialist community. [passage omitted]

The fraternal friendship and cooperation of our peoples are developing and strengthening, furthering the development of the production forces and contributing to the swifter resolution of important national economic tasks. Here special importance is currently attached to the full implementation of the accords reached during the official friendly visit to the USSR of the DPRK party and state delegation headed by Comrade Kim Il-song in May 1984 and during subsequent meetings and talks between our tow countries' leaders.

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At enterprises, scientific research institutions, and administrative establishments, I was told more than once by their leaders, production pacesetters, scientists, and party officials that the signing of the Soviet-Korean treaty was an important milestone in the development of fraternal ties between our two peoples and countries. This was reaffirmed by Son Hwan-Kwon, secretary of the Korean side of the intergovernmental consultative commission for economic, scientific, and technical questions.

"The 25th anniversary of the treaty," he said, "is an expression of a new style of relations which have developed between socialist countries. Each of its paragraphs, each of its lines is oriented toward the further expansion and improvment of political, economic, and cultural cooperation between the DPRK and the USSR, toward the strengthening of their security, and toward ensuring peace in the Far East..."

Working side by side, the working people of the Soviet Union and the DPRK seek to utilize more fully the advantages of all-around cooperation which corresponds with their vital interests. The experience of past years has shown convincingly that friendship and cooperation have become the foundation which has enabled our friends to overcome the consequences of their colonial past and the postwar devastation within a short period.

According to official statistics, comrade Son Hwan-Kwon noted, the DPRK now produces more industrial output in a day than it produced in a whole year before the liberation. The toilers of the countryside, having resolutely embarked on the path of socialist development, have also achieved considerable successes. Over the years of people's power, grain yields have increased more than 500 percent, totaling 10 million metric tons per year. Achievements in the development of culture are also very pleasing. In a country where there was no higher educational establishment there are now hundreds of VUZ's and technical colleges. The number of specialists with higher and secondary education has topped 1,250,000.[passage omitted]

The DPRK's successes in socialist building are above all the result of the selfless efforts of the Korean people led by the Workers Party. At the same time they graphically demonstrate the effectiveness and vitality of socialist internationalism and the fruitful nature of the ties with fraternal countries.

Soviet people and all the DPRK's friends are sincerely pleased at the achievements of its working people who are implementing the program to build a new life mapped out by the WPK. The peaceful and creative labor of people's Korea and its freedom and independence are reliably guaranteed by the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance. This document also makes provision for joint efforts with a view to strengthening the defense might of both our states, protecting them against imperialist aggression, and preserving and strengthening peace on the Korean Peninsula.

This is very important, since the building of socialism on Korean soil is taking place under complex conditions. For more than 4 decades, the country has been divided. Its southern part has been transformed into a military and nuclear bridgehead of the United States. The protracted presence in South Korea of U.S. Armed Forces and the nuclear and other mass destruction weapons which they have stockpiled are not just an obstacle to the peaceful reunification of the North and South of the country but also heightening tension in that part of the Far East and creating a threat of a nuclear conflict.

That is why the DPRK Government proposals aimed at improving the situation on the Korean Peninsula and creating favorable conditions for the reunification of the north and south invariably meets with widespread support among the world's progressive public.

Currently, a month of solidarity with the struggle of the Korean people for the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea and the reunification of the country on a peaceful basis is taking place in the Soviet Union and a number of other countries. Soviet people, addressing rallies and meetings, are voicing resolute support for the DPRK's demands for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Korea and the replacement of the armistice agreement with a peace treaty, and are advocating the elaboration of a nonaggression declaration between North and South and talks between the two at parliamentary level. Support for the DPRK Government's recent initiative aimed at the creation of a nuclear-free zone, a zone of peace, on the Korean Peninsula has been voiced with particular force. There is good reason for regarding these and other peace initiatives as an important manifestation of the concrete implementation of the idea that a comprehensive approach to the problems of peace and security in Asia is essential.

Celebrating the 25th anniversary of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance, DPRK working people express confidence that the fraternal relations and all-around cooperation between our countries will continue to develop and strengthen in the interests of the Soviet and Korean peoples, in the interests of socialism and peace.

SHEVARDNADZE, DPRK COUNTERPART EXCHANGE MESSAGES

PM091050 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Jul 86 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Exchange of Telegrams"]

[Text] On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between the USSR and the DPRK there was an exchange of congratulatory telegrams between E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, and Kim Yong-nam, member of WPK Central Committee Politburo and DPRK foreign minister.

The telegrams express confidence that the traditional relations of friendship and comprehensive cooperation between the Soviet Union and the DPRK will strengthen and develop for the benefit of the cause of peace and socialism.

ALIYEV, DPRK'S KIM HWAN ADDRESS RALLY

PM091331 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Jul 86 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "In Honor of an Anniversary"]

[Text] The traditional Soviet-Korean friendship is becoming stronger with each passing year and bilateral cooperation is becoming increasingly multifaceted. This kind of development of relations between the USSR and the DPRK fully meets the aspirations of our peoples and the interests of world socialism. This was stressed 4 July at a ceremonial meeting of representatives of Moscow's working people devoted to the 25th anniversary of the conclusion of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between the USSR and the DPRK.

The presidium was comprised of G.A. Aliyev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; I.V. Kapitonov, chairman of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission; G.S. Tarazevich, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; G.I. Marchuk, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; the leaders of a number of ministries and departments, and representatives of party, soviet, and public organizations. The meeting was attended by a DPRK party and government delegation, headed by Kim Hwan, member of the Politburo and secretary of the WPK Central Committee, and by DPRK Ambassador to the USSR Kwon Hui-kyong.

The keynote speaker -- USSR Minister V.G. Klyuyev, chairman of the Soviet-Korean Friendship Society Central Board -- noted that the Soviet-Korean treaty enshrined the genuinely friendly and good-neighborly relations which have long existed between our countries. It was an embodiment of the sincere wish and firm will of both peoples to consistently strengthen friendship and cooperation. It reflects a mutual resolve to contribute to maintaining and strengthening peace and security in the Far East and throughout the world. Based on the principles of proletarian internationalism, genuine equality, and mutual respect for national sovereignty and independence, the treaty has now been serving the interests of our countries' peoples and the cause of socialist creation for 25 years.

The Soviet and Korean peoples are celebrating the treaty anniversary at the time when our bilateral ties are expanding and deepening in a forward-moving and dynamic manner. The accords reached in May 1984 during the visit to the USSR by the DPRK party and state delegation headed by Kin Il-song, general secretary of the WPK Central Committee and president of the DPRK, and at subsequent meetings between the Soviet and Korean leaders gave powerful momentum to the process.

We are currently witnessing, the speaker said, the events of the month of solidarity with the Korean people's struggle for the withdrawal of U.S. forces form South Korea and the country's peaceful unification and the events of the Soviet-Korean Friendship Week, devoted to the treaty anniversary. At rallies and meetings, Soviet people are stressing that the traditional freindship between the tow peoples has stood the test of time and has risen to a new level. They will continue to do all they can to ensure that relations between the CPSU and WPK and USSR and DPRK and between the Soviet and Korean peoples constantly strengthen and develop on the basis of the unshakable principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, in line with the content and spirit of the friendship treaty.

In his speech Kim Hwan said that the treaty was a historic event for the peoples of the two countries waging a joint struggle against imperialism and for the triumph of the great cause of socialism and communism.

From time immemorial the Korean and Soviet peoples have struggled together against imperialist aggressors beneath the banner of Marxism-Leninism and the proletarian internationalism. The Korean people remember the material assistance and moral support provided by the Soviet people at a difficult time in the development of our country's revolution and they are grateful to them for it.

Our party, government, and people are satisfied with the fact that relations of fraternal friendship and cooperation between the two countries' peoples are developing on an ascending curve in the spirit of the accords reached during the summit meeting and talks.

The Soviet people are a great people who, for the first time in the world, opened up a new era of historical transition from capitalism to socialism, under V.I. Lenin's leadership.

Today the Soviet people, under the proven leadership of the CPSU, headed by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, are moving vigorously toward the implementation of the decisions reached at the 27th CPSU Congress.

The general line determined by the congress toward accelerating the country's socioeconomic development and the course of ensuring indestructible, lasting peace inspire the Soviet people with confidence in a bright future and inspire the world's progressive peoples with great confidence in themselves.

The contemporary international situation, the speaker continued, increases still further the significance of the Korean-Soviet treaty in defending peace in Asia and the world as a whole. At the present stage, there is nothing more urgent for mankind than the elimination of the danger of nuclear war and the defense of peace. Peace is socialism's fundamental demand, and the USSR is the reliable stronghold of world peace.

In the belief that the very important peace initiatives recently put forth by the Soviet Union fully meet the common interests of socialism and the command of the times for peace, we actively support the USSR's peace-loving proposals and efforts.

The measures on reuniting the motherland put forward by our party and government and the DPRK's recent proposal on turning the Korean peninsula into a peace zone free from nuclear weapons have the USSR's active support and approval. We are sincerely grateful to the Soviet Union for its high evaluation of our actions.

The Soviet Union's initiative on an overall and comprehensive approach to the solution of the question of safeguarding security in the Asia-Pacific region is of great importance in terms of easing tension and safeguarding peace in the area.

I will take this opportunity, Kim Hwan said in conclusion, of expressing profound gratitude to the party, government, and people of the Soviet Union for always expressing firm solidarity and active support for our people in their just struggle for the country's independent, peaceful unification.

On the same day the DPRK party and government delegation visited the sovkhoz named for the 60th anniversary of the USSR near Moscow.

On 5 July the guests visited the Central Museum of the USSR Armed Forces.

U.S.- JAPANESE NAVAL MANEUVERS NOTED

LD051553 Moscow TASS in English 1548 GMT 5 Jul 86

[Text] Tokyo July 5 TASS -- The U.S. battleship "New Jersey" equipped with "Tomahawk" cruise missiles carrying nuclear warheads will call at Port Sabeso, Japan, late this August.

Reporting about this, the Japanese military establishment indicated that joint Japanese-U.S. manoeuvres involving the "New Jersey" and the cruiser "Vincennes" escorting it might be held close to the Far-Eastern coast of the Soviet Union in that period.

CORRESPONDENT DESCRIBES ATTEMPTED PHILIPPINE COUP

PM090816 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Jul 86 First Edition p 5

[Own correspondent L. Kuznetsov dispatch: "Situation Normalizing"]

[Text] Manila -- A group of Philippine politicians and soldiers, swearing loyalty to former President Marcos, have attempted a coup d'etat. By all accounts, this attempt has failed.

President Corazon Aquino of the Philippines has returned to Manila and stated that her government is in full control of the situation. J. Enrile, defense minister in the C. Aquino government, who was offered a high post by the rebels, has stated that he "is not seeking another job, and remains loyal to the present regime. Comments in the same vein were made by F. Ramos, chief of the Philippine Armed Forces General Staff, who was with President Aquino on Minadanao at the time of the putsch. The president appeared cool and calm. Her only request to date to the armed supporters of putschist leader A. Tolentino is not to provoke bloodshed. At the same time she has asked the justice minister to charge Tolentino with "incitement to riot" and "unlawfully declaring himself acting president of the Philippines."

Thus, former Senator A. Tolentino has failed in his attempt to restore the Marcos regime to the Philippines. Nevertheless, he is backed by quite a large force. They form part of the Philippine bourgeoisie, dissatisfied with some of the measures taken by the present administration, which, taking account of the mood of the masses, is trying to prepare the ground for possible social transformations and begin talks with the insurgent movements.

Judging by reports being received here, the United States is watching with alarm the growth of the movement in the Philippines against U.S. bases and is afraid that these antiwar feelings may be reflected (even on a small scale) in the new constitution, which is being drafted by a special commission. In such a situation any rocking of the boat or destabilization in the country (and Tolentino's action undoubtedly promotes that) is viewed by the independent republic's enemies as a "natural ally" and an additional means of pressuring the present government and its supporters. Thus, even if official Washington continues to express sympathy for the current president, that does not exclude the possibility, people are saying here, that it is playing some kind of game. It is no coincidence that the first official foreign representative to appear at the Hotel Manila after the formation of the self-styled "government" there was the vice consul of the U.S. Embassy.

As this report is being sent, the area adjoining the Hotel Manila has been cordoned off with trucks and entry is forbidden. Government troops are stationed along the barrier. It is reported that 200 of the soldiers who had sided with the insurgents (the majority) have left the hotel and stated that they had been duped.

The authorities are holding talks with Tolentino and his supporters.

REPORTAGE ON MITTERRAND'S VISIT TO MOSCOW CONTINUES

Mitterrand 7 July Speech

PM100808 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jul 86 First Edition p 2

[TASS report on French President F. Mitterrand's speech at 7 July Kremlin dinner in his honor]

[Text] Mr General Secretary!

Mrs Gorbachev!

Gentlemen!

Less than a year ago I had the honor to receive you in Paris on your first trip to a Western country since your appointment. In response to the invitation extended to me by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium it is with great pleasure and interest that I am here today in Moscow in the Hall of Facets -- this sumptuous embodiment of the brilliance of your civilization.

I thank you for the opportunity given me to continue the dialogue which we have established and to which I adhere because I consider it necessary for the good of our peoples and useful for the development of events in the world, for which the Soviet Union and France each bear responsibility.

This dialogue is conditioned not merely by current political interests. It rests on longstanding traditions and 1,000 years of history, during which we have never lost sight of each other, and our sympathies and mutual inclinations have triumphed over crises and conflicts, culminating in the brotherhood-in-arms at a time when our independence was at stake.

Our cultures have much in common. This fall the "France-Russia, a Century of Enlightenment" exhibition, which Muscovites will see in their turn in 1987, opens in Paris. It covers the period when Diderot was working in St. Petersburg on a "plan for a university for the Russian Government" at the request of Catherine the Great. Many current discussions about concepts such as the homeland, Europe, and human rights were brilliantly anticipated in the work of the philosophers of that time, and nobody has since surpassed their conclusions.

Mr General Secretary, I know the interest you have in Europe -- this historic and cultural community; in this respect our views wholly coincide, even if our continent looks different from the Atlantic seaboard than it does from the Urals. Europe must really become once again the main character in its own history in order to fully play its role as a factor of equilibrium and stability in international relations.

France has spared no effort to ensure that Europe, thanks to the maintenance of peace, again acquired the conditions for developing in the diversity which is the essence of its creative genius. The Franco-German reconciliation -- made even more necessary as a result of the destruction caused by the war and in accordance with the interests of both peoples ever since democracy was restored on the ruins of nazism -- marked the first phase of this process. The creation of the European Community, which initially united 6 countries and now 12, is the second phase of this initiative. But the community which we are creating does not intend to turn in on itself.

It must play an active role, it must also contribute to developing the security of our continent as a whole, whose destiny it attentively monitors.

We believe that the 35 countries represented at Helsinki made progress in ultimately reaching agreement on a number of principles and specific provisions. However, it is still necessary for the jointly agreed measures to be implemented increasingly extensively and for the work that has been begun to continue.

I have already told you, Mr. General Secretary, that France is a country proud of its independence. While remaining true to its allies and observing the commitments it has undertaken, it strives to maintain its independence by making decisions which commit it to talking the same language with everyone. France is a peace-loving country. Its policy in the defense sphere is aimed exclusively at deterring anyone who would wish to invade it. And my duty is to keep watch to see that we are invariable strong enough to meet that goal. I have already had the opportunity in a talk with you, Mr. General Secretary, to clarify our views on disarmament questions. Through its important initiatives in the past and its active work in the various disarmament forums in which it participates, France has demonstrated the consistency of its intentions in this area. It is guided in these intentions by concern both to reduce excessive weapons arsenals and to safeguard the security of all states.

Lacking the possibility to build security on the basis of trust, which we strive to strengthen, we have been forced to base it on equilibrium of forces. We could at least make progress down this road if arms were balanced at a lower level than today.

That is why, as a nonparticipant, France has been following with great attention the progress in the talks which your country started with the United States in Geneva. I want both great powers to arrive at specific and significant results in accordance with the responsibility they bear. You know, Mr General Secretary, that my country does not intend to let anyone else determine the level of its forces. Our nuclear deterrent, which is the foundation of our independence and security, is based on a limited arsenal which, however, is adequate for our strategy. Speaking at the United Nations in 1983, I set out -- and 2 years ago, in a speech here, recalled -- the conditions on which our possible consent to participate at some point in nuclear arms talks would depend. Those conditions have not changed.

France also attentively follows questions concerning space. It states that the utilization of space for military purposes has already become a reality, but it considers it essentially important to avoid any kind of new arms race whatsoever. Better to give peace every chance than to cross yet another threshold into endless escalation. Everything that I am saying here applies to each of the great partners which hold the fate of the world in their hands.

I was interested to acquaint myself with the conventional arms reductions proposals which you expounded 18 April and which were again put forward in the Budapest Appeal. I see in them a desire to take account of the concern which I referred to earlier. Equilibrium of forces is indeed an indivisible concept. It would be artificial to isolate nuclear weapons while allowing destabilizing inequalities to remain in the sphere of conventional and chemical arms. France, which was in at the birth of the Conference on Disarmament in Europe, would like that conference, in accordance with its mandate, to lead to the adoption in Stockholm of a number of significant confidence-building measures which would be a promising preliminary condition in the future of the next phase of arms reduction.

But if we bear responsibility for disarmament, we are no less accountable for the all too numerous conflicts which continue to make our planet run with blood.

Too much violence and too much suffering stems from the violation of international principles, from the policy of faits accomplis, and from the simple refusal of justice to peoples merely demanding the opportunity to freely choose their own destiny. As a permanent Security Council member, France supports the UN efforts aimed at seeking equitable and long-term solutions. In certain cases our assessments coincide or diverge. My country's position does not change. Whether it is a question of the Near East, the Persian Gulf, Afghanistan, Cambodia, South Africa, Central America, and so forth, our concern is to maintain the principles which, in our opinion, apply everywhere and mean, in particular, seeking ways to end battles, respecting peoples' right to self-determination, and not interfering in other states' affairs.

Meetings like the one which we started this evening also provide an opportunity for summing up the results of our bilateral relations. They are based not just on mutual interest but on feelings of respect and friendly ties. Allow me once again to express to you the sentiments which were engendered in France by the report on the Chernobyl accident. We pay tribute to the courage of those who fell victim to their duty. We share the desire expressed by the leaders of several countries and by yourself to examine possibilities of improving the provision of information in the event of a catastrophe of this sort.

France is a state which believes in the future of peaceful nuclear power after the necessary security guarantees have been created.

In the economic sphere it is important that our trade, which had failed to increase to any considerable extent of late, has again started to develop, and this growth has made it possible to rectify the continuing inequality in our balance of trade.

Exciting projects are being implemented in the scientific sphere, and I am glad that a French astronaut will take part in the near future in a prolonged orbital flight on a spacecraft to be launched by the Soviet Union. An I am all the more touched by your invitation to visit Star City with you.

In the cultural sphere both sides have witnessed brilliant events -- the trip to the Soviet Union by the "Comedie Francaise," the Paris Orchestra, and the Nancy Ballet Theater, and the Bolshoy Theater's French tour. These will be continued!

It would also be good to continue efforts aimed at disseminating knowledge of Russian among young people in France and knowledge of French among young people in the Soviet Union.

I have already had a chance to talk about the interest we have in contacts between people outside of the framework of official events: exchanges of ideas and information, trips from one country to another. These exchanges, about which the participating states in the Helsinki Conference made political pledges, can only promote the establishment between our two countries of an atmosphere favorable for cooperation in all its forms.

I would also add to this each government's moral duty to examine in a humanitarian spirit the problems concerning human rights -- this particularly concerns family problems, on which you, Mr General Secretary, agreed to expound your views in Paris. We are touching here upon fundamental questions to which we are profoundly attached. We must always be concerned to respect the sovereignty of any state in its internal affairs and any confusion on this matter should be avoided. But when it is a question of universal well-being based on the freedom to live, think, and come and go, rights have no frontiers.

This applies both to individual and to collective rights. No man sits in judgment over another. Let us do more to strive to expand our mutual understanding through in-depth talks.

Mr General Secretary, Mrs Gorbachev. I vividly remember our previous meetings. Your trip to my country made a profound impression. French people saw you as a man representing in the fullest sense of the word one of the world's greatest peoples, and at the same time as a man receptive both to the problems of the modern world and to the tasks of the future.

I will also state the genuine pleasure which a closer acquaintance with you gives me.

How can I fail to recall the heroism of the Soviet people, which more than 40 years ago showed courage and self-sacrifice in the struggle and victory over fascism. In so doing the Soviet people wrote a shining page in their history and enriched our common heritage.

Allow me, Mr General Secretary, to thank you for the hospitality you have accorded me and to wish you and Mrs Gorbachev -- whose presence has created a new image of charm and refinement for your country -- good health. My wife and I are particularly pleased to see her here again today.

In conclusion F. Mitterrand proposed a toast in honor of the Soviet people and for the development of relations between France and the Soviet Union.

The speeches by M.S. Gorbachev and F. Mitterrand were listened to with great attention and greeted by applause.

The dinner was held in a friendly atmosphere.

Visit to Star City

LD092115 Moscow TASS in English 2051 GMT 9 Jul 86

[Text] Moscow July 9 TASS -- President of the French Republic Francois Mitterrand and General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev today visited Star City.

The leaders of the two countries were met by scientists, specialists of the training centre, cosmonauts, among them French Cosmonaut Jean-Loup Chretien, who arrived here two days ago with three French pilots, candidates for the upcoming second Soviet-French flight.

Cooperation of scientists and specialists of the USSR and France in space exploration started exactly 20 years ago and has become one of the main trends of joint research. French scientists were enabled to use Soviet sputniks, manned ships, orbital and interplanetary stations for holding unique astrophysical, geophysical and technological experiments. A large research programme was implemented four years ago during the first Soviet-French manned space flight. Scientists and specialists of the two countries continue processing unique results obtained last spring during the international expedition toward Halley's Comet by two Soviet "Vega" stations.

Mikhail Gorbachev noted that scientists and engineers of the USSR and France cooperate well in the sphere of space science and technology.

The Soviet and the French leaders were told about the organisation of the training of the crew for flights. In the main building of the training centre they say simulators of orbital stations. One of the simulators that stretched almost the entire length of the hall has the word "Mir" (peace) written on it. "This is an orbital station of the third generation", superviser of cosmonauts' training Vladimir Shatalov explained. Equipped with six link-up joints, it makes it possible to assemble intricate complexes in orbit. Specialized modules of the same volume as the station can be linked up with "mir" station. This opens good prospects for international cooperation in space. Each of the modules can carry a large volume of scientific equipment created by scientists of different countries. It is also important that such stations can operate in space for a long time and ensure virtually permanent presence of crews on board.

Then the Soviet and the French leaders inspected the pool. Training for flights, cosmonauts try out there the most complex details of the programme -- work in open space. Beyond transparent walls of the pool, under water, there is a full-size mock up of the orbital station. A group of researchers in special suits showed methods of work outside the station.

In the central square of Star City, Francois Mitterrand and Mikhail Gorbachev placed flowers at the monument to Yuriy Gagarin.

Addressing people of Star City, Mikhail Gorbachev said: "We had very important talks with the French president these days. And you know what we are thinking about: We are thinking, above all, that there should be peace on earth and in space. This is our concensus of opinion".

Francois Mitterrand and Mikhail Gorbachev saw the exposition of the museum of Star City, visited Yuriy Gagarin's memorial study and made entries in the distinguished visitors' book.

"Star City has become the symbol of Soviet cosmonautics, the embodiment of human exploit and highest achievements of technological thought", Mikhail Gorbachev said. "Cosmonautics widened the horizons of knowledge. People could see better their wonderful common home, could realize in full measure how beautiful it is for life and how small and fragile for wars. We believe in mankind's tomorrow. But for mankind to have tomorrow, outer space should remain peaceful, every step to the stars should bring benefit. And we are glad that the capital of joint useful undertakings of the USSR and France in this direction is being replenished. This is to be promoted well by the coming prolonged Soviet-French space expeditions. New successful launchings and safe returns to space explorers. On the trails blazed by Yuriy Gagarin you help by your heroism, courage and skill to unravel the mysteries of the earth and the universe, to replenish the achievements of human mind, serve the great goal -- unity of people on earth".

Gorbachev on Space Cooperation

LD091854 Paris Domestic Service in French 1700 GMT 9 Jul 86

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Mitterrand and Gorbachev visited the famous Star City 40 kms from Moscow to visit the Soviet cosmonaut training center, guided by someone who knows plenty about it, Jean-Loup Chretien. The two heads of state took the opportunity to visit the life-size model of the future Soviet orbiting space station, in which a French cosmonaut will fly in 1988.

For the occasion Mikhail Gorbachev gave an exclusive interview to the correspondents of France Inter and TPI [television channel], Ylysse Gosset and Gominique Broemberger. Mikhail Gorbachev was very satisfied:

[Begin recording, Gorbachev in Russian with superimposed French translation] We discussed French-Soviet cooperation in space for peaceful purposes with President Mitterrand, and we agreed that this cooperation has good prospects. Just now, during our visit to the model, we had a second Soviet-French flight with the president, and the third will be with Jean- Loup Chretien.

On the Soviet side, as on the French side, we have agreed to do everything possible in this direction. Our scientists, like your scientists; our cosmonauts, like your cosmonauts, and our people who have traditionally developed their relations are interested in this cooperation progressing. I think that the use of space for peaceful purposes opens up great possibilities for the mastering of technologies, for improving space equipment, and mathematics. In general it is a good focus for peaceful cooperation.

[Unidentified journalist] Will you yourself fly in space?

[Gorbachev] Yes, we agreed with the French president on a joint space flight. You know, however, that there is a lot of work still to do on Earth. When it is done, we shall organize flights. [end recording]

Mitterrand TV Address

LD091921 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 9 Jul 86

[Address by French President Francois Mitterrand in Moscow, Mitterrand speaking in French with superimposed Russian translation -- live or recorded; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Dear Soviet friends. This is the second time that I have been given an opportunity to speak directly to you on television. I value this opportunity all the more in that I speak to you on the eve of 14 July which, as you probably know, is France's national holiday, but also something of a holiday for all the people of Europe and the world.

Since my trip to your country 2 years ago much has changed in France, the USSR, and the world. In my view, however, the most important things remain. I would like to tell you what the most important things for us, French people, are. Yes, the most important thing for France is, first, to be a modern country, a nation which has resolutely embarked on the path of progress, and in all spheres -- science and technology -- and this entails numerous consequences.

To give just this example, France is the third world power in the world [as heard] as far as space is concerned. It cooperates with your country in this sphere. Its researchers and technicians are among the most advanced in the world. And also in other spheres -- spheres as varied as information science, medicine, new types of energy and nuclear energy. We do not strive for progress as an end in itself. Progress must have a human significance. Therefore we want this progress to serve the prosperity of the people, we want every French person to have equal opportunities with everyone else in life.

For France, the most important thing is to be an open country, one that wishes to be open to everything that happens in the world, open to new ideas, open to the values of others, to your values. France is a country in which all philosophical, political, and religious convictions can freely develop and express themselves. Such is the nature of our political system. Of course, nothing is perfect.

Much has yet to be done, and we have to be careful to move correctly along the path we have chosen. I would add that this openness is based on constant exchange with the outside world, which corresponds to our old, ancient traditions, of which we are proud.

The most important thing for France is to be an independent country, and you in the Soviet Union should understand that word. True to its alliances and loyal to its commitments, France remains the mistress of its own decisions. It is, of course, making considerable efforts in armed forces. At the same time, it wants the forces of both East and West to be reduced, to the lowest possible level, and it is doing everything to achieve that goal. And that was the subject of the very useful talk that I have just had with Mr General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev. France has based its relations with the Soviet Union on friendship and mutual interest. We know all that we have to gain from that friendship because the peoples of both our countries have achieved a very great deal in the field of advanced economics and research.

We know what we are talking about because we are of importance. We have a thousand-year-old Christian tradition, and this country is the land of Peter the Great, the builder of new cities. We are divided by differing political philosophies and concepts in many fields. We do not belong to the same alliances, that is obvious. But we are united by a common history, the memory of the terrible trials endured together during World War II. We have a common sense of tremendous responsibility for the defense of peace, and we Frenchmen cannot forget what we are obliged to the Soviet people for: its soldiers, who heroically fought during the last world war. We possess a whole range of mutual attractions and influences between our cultures, and therefore we know each other well and this should continue. It is my sincere desire that these exchanges between French and Soviet people should develop more and more. This is a real additional guarantee of peace.

Dear Soviet friends, I greet you on behalf of France. I want to thank you, and through you to thank your leaders, for the very warm reception which you have given, in my person, to the whole French people. Thank you and goodbye.

Final Talks in Kremlin

LD091810 Moscow TASS in English 1802 GMT 19 Jul 86

[Text] Moscow July 9 TASS -- Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Francois Mitterrand, president of France, held final talks in the Kremlin today.

Taking part in the talks were:

From the Soviet side -- A.A. Gromyko, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, I.V. Arkhipov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, G.I. Marchuk, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, B.I. Aristov, minister of foreign trade of the USSR, A.G. Kovalev, first deputy foreign affairs minister, Ya. P. Ryabov, the USSR ambassador to France;

From the French side -- Foreign Minister Jean-Bernard Raimond, Michel Noir, minister delegate on foreign trade issues, Alain Devaquet, minister delegate on scientific research and higher education issues.

The French Ambassador in the USSR Yves Pagniet, the High Commissioner of the French Atomic Energy Commissariat Jean Teillac, the president of the French National Space Research Centre Jacques-Louis Lions.

M.S. Gorbachev stressed the importance of continuing and intensifying the Soviet-French dialogue at the present crucial stage of the development of international relations "when we all are faced with the main question -- in what direction will the world move: in the direction of normalisation and development of extensive cooperation or, if the existing chance is missed, the situation will aggravate still further and it will become much more difficult to stop the arms race."

It was declared that a clear-cut stand of the Soviet Union and France in favour of talks, for ending the arms race and achieving disarmament, for detente, is extremely important. The sides agreed that accords which restrain the arms race, its spread to other spheres, should not be destroyed. The coincidence of the principled approaches of the sides to this problem does not preclude the existence of a number of concrete differences.

Interaction of the Soviet Union and France makes it easier to direct international relations into a sound channel which requires new thinking, understanding of the interdependence of states in the contemporary epoch, taking into consideration the interests of everyone.

The Soviet leadership proceeds from the view that such is the common task now and highly assesses France's possibilities and contribution on this road.

Special attention was devoted at the talks to the role of Europe in world development. This role can be innovatory and positive. In this sphere the Soviet Union and France can do a great deal in the interests of the whole continent, acting jointly or in a parallel way. With this in view, the resoluteful concluding of the Stockholm Conference and the activization of the all-European process in general ahead of and in connection with the coming meeting in Vienna are of much importance.

A useful and frank exchange of views took place on ways of overcoming conflict situations and crises in various parts of the world.

The sides approved the idea of interaction in such a topical sphere as the consolidation of the safety regime of nuclear power engineering.

Questions of bilateral economic, scientific and technological ties between the Soviet Union and France were discussed at the talks. There will be a need for vigorous reciprocal efforts to give an additional impetus to economic ties, to finding solution to existing problems, specifically by searching for new forms of cooperation, use of industrial cooperation, organisation of joint production.

Possibilities of cooperation in computerizing education, in joint space research and nuclear energetics were discussed. The agreement was confirmed to hold in 1988 the second joint manned space flight on board a Soviet orbital station, this time a flight of a long duration.

The conversations and talks passed in an atmosphere of goodwill, mutual understanding and high responsibility. The results of the visit confirmed that an intensive and productive political dialogue between such states as the USSR and France has a great, irreplaceable potential of positive influence on the entire course of European and international relations.

Foreign Ministry Press Conference

LD091950 Moscow TASS in English 1919 GMT 9 Jul 86

[Text] Moscow July 9 TASS -- A breifing for Soviet and foreign journalists held today at the press centre of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs dealt with the concluding meetings within the framework of the Soviet-French summit dialogue.

In the opinion of the Soviet side, the characteristic feature of the present talks was the concern for the destinies of the world, said Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Department of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. These talks can give a good impetus to a postivie development of international relations. According to G. Gerasimov the main attention at the talks was devoted to the following problem: How, after all, to put an end to the arms race?

According to the Soviet estimate, the sides agreed at the talks that the world situation tended to deteriorate, and that efforts should be exerted both in the East and in the West in order to find ways towards the normalization of relations.

If the Soviet Union and France interact, act jointly or in a parallel way in order to turn the international relations towards the discontinuation of the arms race, the whole world will gain from it. The Soviet leadership proceeds from the assumption that this is our common task. It highly appreciates the contribution of France, the the spokesman of the USSR foreign Ministry said. The positions of the sides on many problems were similar, and sometimes they agreed about the goal, having in mind various ways of attaining it.

According to Gennadiy Gerasimov, the Soviet side will seek to prevent the reduction of the volume of trade and will draw up its own proposals. He pointed out that concrete negotiations were under way on increasing the purchases of French equipment. The USSR raised the question of a possibility to expand cooperation and create enterprises in the Soviet Union on a licence basis.

G. Gerasimov said that in the sphere of scientific cooperation the sides had raised questions dealing with the computerization of education, some technical questions connected with a new joint space flight, as well as those connected with nuclear power engineering.

Mitterrand at Press Conference

LD100717 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0648 GMT 10 Jul 86

[Text] Moscow, 10 July (TASS) -- France is highly interested in a discussion of disarmament questions, French President Francois Mitterrand said, speaking here today in the press center of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs at a press conference devoted to the conclusion of the Soviet-French talks.

The president of France stressed that many proposals on the problem of disarmament had been put forward recently. In particular, "for the Soviet part, Mikhail Gorbachev made truly sensational proposals. They relate to the sphere of nuclear, strategic, conventional and chemical weapons."

The French president told the journalists that the past 3 days of the visit had been largely taken up with conversations with Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary; Audrey Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; and Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

In reply to a question on the results of the talks in the Kremlin, Francois Mitterrand said: "More than ever Mikhail Gorbachev strikes me as being an extraordinarily contemporary man, a man of our time. He approaches problems as they exist in 1986."

Official Send-Off

LD100734 Moscow TASS in English 0724 GMT 10 Jul 86

[Text] Moscow July 10 TASS -- The official visit of President Francois Mitterrand of the French Republic to the Soviet Union is drawing to a close today.

An official send-off ceremony was given in the Georgievskiy Hall of the Grand Kremlin Palace at 11 A.M. today. Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and his wife wished Francois Mitterrand and Mme Mitterrand bon voyage.

SOKOLOV TO VISIT FINLAND IN 'MID-JULY'

LD100648 Moscow TASS in English 0642 GMT 10 Jul 86

[Text] Moscow July 10 TASS -- Soviet Defence Minister Marshal Sergey Sokolov, alternate member of the politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee, is to pay an official visit to Finland in mid-July 1986 at the invitation of Veikko Pihlajamaki, the defence minister of Finland.

SUPREME SOVIET DELEGATION DEPARTS FOR TURKEY

LD091131 Moscow TASS in English 1113 GMT 9 Jul 86

[Text] Moscow July 9 TASS -- A delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet led by Vladimir Orlov, vice president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, have left Moscow for an official visit to Turkey, at the invitation of that country's Grand National Assembly.

In the airport of the delegation was seen off by Avgust Voss, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and other officials.

AMIR ACCEPTS KUWAITI GOVERNMENT'S RESIGNATION

PM091112 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Jul 86 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by own correspondent V. Shevchenko: "The Amir's Decree"]

[Text] Kuwait -- It has been officially announced here that Amir of Kuwait Jabir al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah has accepted the government's resignation and instructed heir apparent Sa'd al-'Abdallah al-Salim al-Sabah, the acting prime minister, to form a new government.

At the same time the activity of the National Assembly, the country's parliament, has been suspended by decree. The amir's decree, published by the local newspapers, says that the state is going through a difficult and crucial period. The escalation of the Iran-Iraq war near Kuwait's borders and the economic crisis which has hit the country are having an adverse effect on the domestic political situation. Kuwait has become the target of terrorist acts which are jeopardizing its security and sovereignty.

A statement by the prime minister in connection with the government's resignation notes that the heightened differences between parliamentary deputies and members of the government have made it difficult for the cabinet to do its job. All this, according to political observers, made it necessary for the amir to adopt emergency measures.

ISRAEL'S NUCLEAR DEVELOPMENTS ASSESSED

PM090921 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Jul 86 Morning Edition p 5

[G. Dymov article: "Tel Aviv's Nuclear Blackmail"]

[Text] The other day the stream of REUTER reports included a dispatch: According to M. Shahal, Israeli minister of energy and infrastructure, Tel Aviv intends in the near future to acquire another nuclear reactor -- in addition to the two it already has. But behind this seemingly harmless report was a sinister meaning.

The possession of nuclear weapons is a long-standing aim of the Israeli leadership. By acquiring a nuclear "stick," Tel Aviv reasons, Israel would be able to establish itself in the role of arbiter of the fates of the Near East peoples.

The first symptoms of "atomic fever" were revealed among Israeli ruling circles in the very first months after Israel's formation in the spring of 1948. The Defense Ministry hurried to dispatch a group of geologists to the Negev desert to find uranium deposits and reserves. At the same time the most capable students of physics were sent to the United States, Britain, the Netherlands, and Switzerland to train and specialize in the field of nuclear research.

Meanwhile, back in Israel, the country was creating at an accelerated pace its own scientific and technical base for atomic studies. The pioneer was the Department of Nuclear Research and Development set up by the military department in Rehovot, which rapidly embarked on the development of new methods for the production of heavy water and enriched uranium from phosphates which had by then been found in the Negev desert. Then similar institutions sprang up at the (Rakakh) institute of physics at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and the Israeli Technological Institute in Haifa.

The rapid developing nuclear complex demanded more efficient coordination of work and concentration of efforts by scientists and engineers to speed up work on the creation of of nuclear weapons. To this end, in 1952 the Ben-Gurion government formed, in deep secrecy, and the Israeli Atomic Energy Commission.

A major step along the path to the acquisition of atomic weapons was the construction of the Soreq nuclear reactor in Israel. Here the United States did a tremendous service to its "strategic ally." As well as training Israeli specialists (between 1955 and 1960 some 60 of them underwent training at centers), Washington agreed, under the "Atoms for Peace" program, to build in Israel a light-water pool-type nuclear reactor with a capacity of 5 megawatts. In 1960 this reactor, erected on the Mediterranean coast between Nahal Soreq and Ashdod, was commissioned. "The Soreq reactor," American researcher Peter (Pray) writes, "gave Israeli scientists invaluable experience of their own in dealing with nuclear materials and equipment and prepared them for more ambitious projects." One such project was the construction of a reactor at Dimona.

When the first reports of this construction project in the Negev desert reached the Western press, Ben-Gurion, without a moment's hesitation, stated that only a "textile factory" was being built. Tel Aviv obfuscated to such an extent that it did not consider it necessary even to make known its patrons across the ocean.

The Dimona reactor, which began to function in December 1963, and the Negev nuclear research center which was set up there, at once assumed a leading role in the implementation of highly complex, crucial developments.

The pursuit of the phantom of Near Eastern nuclear hegemony took on an unprecedented scale. The imona reactor worked at such a capacity that the locally produced nuclear fuel could not meet even half its needs. To make up the shortfall, Tel Aviv, through its agents, stepped up illegal deliveries of uranium from the United States, Western Europe, Africa, and Latin America, with no consideration either for the expense or for the use of the most unseemly methods: secret deals and machinations, and sometimes the outright theft of uranium and open piracy.

As Tel Aviv hastily stockpiled fissionable materials, the suspicions and assumptions of Western specialists about its readiness to cross the nuclear Rubicon gave way, in the second half of the sixties, to the firm conviction that Israel had joined the numbers of states possessing nuclear weapons. And when the facts of its close nuclear cooperation with South Africa and Taiwan were publicized, and the attempts to explode a nuclear device in the Kalahari desert and the joint Israeli-South African atom bomb test in the South Atlantic, recorded in September 1979 by an American Vela satellite, became known, the discussion in the world press went over to the question of how many atom bombs Israel has, taking its technical and financial potential into account.

In 1981 a group of UN experts came to the conclusion that the Dimona reactor has produced a quantity of uranium sufficient to produce 15- [numeral illegible] atom bombs. Three years later the United Nations increased that figure to 12-18 bombs. According to other estimates, the Israeli military has between 11 and 41 bombs, and also the means of delivering them to the target.

Of course, Israel's possession of atomic weapons is no secret to Washington. Back in 1968 the then CIA Director H. Helms evidently had sufficiently weighty and convincing evidence available to him to inform President L. Johnson that Israel had acquired the atom bomb. But the President strictly instructed the intelligence chief to keep his mouth shut.

The pose of silence adopted by Washington accords fully with the concept of "deliberate ambiguity" which Tel Aviv adheres to in this sphere. Its essence is that the Israeli rulers officially deny the fact of possessing atomic weapons, but at the same time openly let it be know that they are capable of developing them rapidly. It is quite clear that a highly dangerous factor has been added to the already tense situation in the Near East -- the nuclear factor, which naturally cannot fail to influence the strategic balance of forces in the region.

An integral component of the concept of "deliberate ambiguity" is to maintain the Israeli regional nuclear monopoly in the Near East, which is expressed in attempts to prevent at all costs the startup of peaceful nuclear research in Arab countries. Israeli intelligence, Mosad, has more than once rendered unusable the atomic equipment which West European states planned to deliver to Arab countries. The bombing by the Israeli Air Force in June 1981 of the nuclear research center, built with French assistance near the Iraqi capital, Baghdad, was a flagrant act of state terrorism. And by all appearances the resolute condemnation of this act by world public opinion, including the United Nations, did not cool the ardor of the Israeli "superhawks." "We are prepared to strike against any nuclear reactor which Iraq builds in the future," a member of the Israeli Cabinet stated threateningly in March 1985.

Concern is aroused among the world public by the fact that Israel will not accede to the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons or consent to place its nuclear installations under the monitoring of the IAWA.

The Israeli extremists' theory that the possession of the atom bomb can compensate for "the country's weaknesses arising from its geographical location and small population" is illusory and groundless. The "temptation of the bomb" is a profound and dangerous misconception fraught with the most serious consequences for peace and the security of peoples in the Near East.

U.S. PLAYING 'DOUBLE GAME' IN CHILE

LD092236 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 9 Jul 86

[Vyacheslav Lavrentyev commentary]

[Text] According to reports from Santiago, the U.S. Embassy is playing a double game in Chile. On one hand, Washington continues to support Pinochet's regime, and on the other it is feverishly preparing to preserve its interests in case the dictator falls. Here is the latest news commentary. Vyacheslav Lavrentyev is at the microphone:

A qualitatively new situation is developing within the opposition forces in Chile. It is characterized by the growth of mutual understanding between various parties and organizations opposing the military regime. The most important achievement of the opposition forces during all the years of the dictatorship's existence is the recent setting up of the National Civic Assembly, which coordinates the activity of trade unions, associations of free professionals, and womens, students, and Christian organizations. Even the bourgeois parties of the Democratic Alliance, which are attempting to isolate the left-wing forces from the antidictator struggle, joined the Assembly. The influence of this organization on the political life in the country was demonstrated convincingly during the strike in 2-3 July. Despite the intimidation and terror of the authorities, the strike acquired a nationwide scale.

The growth of the antidictator actions in Chile also is aided by an international campaign aimed at isolating the fascist regime. The Pinochet military clique's violations of human rights have been condemned by the UN General Assembly and by other international and regional organizations, the Interparliamentary Union, and by the EEC. If one adds to this that differences have appeared in the Armed Forces, which is the main stronghold of the regime, then it becomes clear that the fall of the dictator is not far off. Pinochet's Washington patrons realize this perfectly well.

The growth of a democratic mood in Chile, which is considered together with Paraguay as the U.S. training ground in South America, is obviously not convenient for the White House. The U.S. Administration would not be averse to removing Pinochet according to the scenario acted out in Haiti. But the situation in Chile is not the same. The American coup d'etat specialists cannot find a political leader in Chile who would be capable of neutralizing the left-wing opposition -- in the first place the Communists. Therefore, the United States continues to support Pinochet and simultaneously conducts clandestine operations aimed at preventing the accession to power of a democratic government which might comprise Communists and representatives of other left-wing forces. There is apprehension that under certain circumstances Washington might be able to push the dictator into repressions such as those which accompanied his accession to power in 1973. In any case, Schweitzer, chairman of the Inter-American Defense Board, who has visited Santiago, assured Pinochet of the U.S. Administration's support for his struggle against terrorism -- as he expressed it -- and against hostile elements. In a word, a period of struggle against dictatorship, which is highly important for the democratic forces, is beginning in Chile.

URUGUAYAN FOREIGN MINISTER TO VISIT IN JULY

PM100826 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jul 86 First Edition p 4

[Unattributed report: "On the Forthcoming Visit to the USSR by the Uruguayan Foreign Minister"]

[Text] Uruguayan Foreign Minister E. Iglesias will pay an official visit to the USSR at the end of July at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

SUPREME SOVIET RECEIVES BRAZIL DELEGATION

LD091700 Moscow TASS in English 1551 GMT 9 Jul 86

[Text] Moscow July 9 TASS -- A conversation was held today between chairmen of the chambers, chairmen and members of permanent commissions of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet, on the one hand, and a delegation of the National Congress of Brazil headed by its chairman and the chairman of the federal senate Jose Fragelli, on the other.

The sides expressed confidence that the deputies of the supreme representative bodies of the two countries would exert maximum effort for attaining the principal goal of today -- curbing the arms race, preserving and consolidating peace and developing cooperation among all the members of the world community.

Jose Fragelli said that the peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet Union was fully approved in Brazil. He emphasized that Brazil would always be among the countries which strive for mutual understanding and cooperation on an equitable basis.

Brazilian parliamentarians pointed out the need for establishing a new just international economic order and of scraping the debt of a number of developing countries, including Brazil, which is running into billions.

FURTHER ON AFTERMATH OF CHERNOBYL ACCIDENT

Evacuees Return Home

LD100443 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0400 GMT 10 Jul 86

[Text] Evacuated inhabitants have returned to the first two villages, Cheremushnaya and Nevitsk, in the 30-km zone around the Chernobyl AES. All buildings in the villages have been decontaminated and wells cleaned. Also, a 3-km water pipeline has been laid to Cheremushnaya in the past month. Both villages are part of the (Svetanok) kolkhoz, which has about 10,000 head of cattle. The inhabitants who returned to their homes immediately got to work preparing fodder for the cattle. Strict, daily monitoring of the air, water, and soil conditions in these areas shows that everything is within normal limits.

Problems Tackled

LD080918 Kiev in Ukrainian to North America 2100 GMT 6 Jul 86

[Text] Yet another talk has been presented by Ukrainian television dealing with the problems being tackled by the republic's government, local organs, and medical workers in eliminating the consequences of the breakdown at the Chernobyl AES.

The talk was conducted by Stanislav Gurenko, deputy chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers. From the first days after the breakdown, all work on eliminating its consequences has been based on scientifically substantiated prognoses of the situation. The radiation background in Kiev amounts today to 0.08-0.10 mr per hour, somewhat lower than had been forecast by scientists. A similiar situation also prevails in other areas adjacent to the Chernobyl zone.

On the remainder of the republic's territory, the situation is normal. As a result of measures already carried out, the Dnieper River, from Kiev to the estuary, is clean and does not present the slightest threat in terms of radioactivity. Close attention is being paid to the provisions and water supplies for the population living in the areas adjacent to the Chernobyl AES. A great amount of work is in progress, especially construction of housing for evacuees. At the same time some evacuees are returning to their homes. This process, deactivization measures permitting and taking into account scientific data and recommendations from medical specialists, will continue.

The problems of overcoming the consequences of the breakdown, the participants in the program stressed, remain the focus of attention of party and government organs in the republic. The whole country is helping those in Chernobyl to solve technical, engineering, and scientific questions that have come to the fore following the breakdown.

Field Revival Methods

AU091207 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 2 Jul 86 p 3

[TASS-RATAU report: "Revival of the Chernobyl Fields"]

[Text] We were on our way to Chernobyl where the staff for the elimination of the consequences of the accident at the nuclear power plant has been set up.

Our automobile had already crossed the line of the 30-km zone but nothing in the surroundings indicated that misfortune had struck quite near: The woods were green, birds were heard in the roadside thicket, and bird nests were frequently seen. At one point a stork with a small dry branch in its beak crossed the road. The adjacent wheat field was golden.

"The bread grain is ripe," the driver remarked. "But there is obviously no sense in harvesting it."

And as if in confirmation of these words, a tree with dry needles suddenly appeared among the brightly green fir trees. The invisible but cruel and insidious enemy, radiation, showed itself.

The accounts of specialists about the uneven radiation levels in the area around the plant were recalled. This resulted from the movement of air masses immediately after the accident or was a consequence of radioactive dust.

Bread grain should really not be harvested, and Not only because it is dangerous to work in these fields. Grain has already received a high dose of radiation.

Will it be possible to utilize these fields in the future or will they have to be withdrawn from crop rotation? Scientists -- biologists, agricultural specialists, and representatives of many other scientific branches of the republic and the entire country are working to solve these questions.

"What has happened has placed difficult tasks before us," Dmitriy Mikhaylovich Grodzinskiy, chief of the biophysics and radiobiology department of the Botany Institute of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences and corresponding member of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, has said. "But the misfortune did not take us by surprise. Research in the field of radiobiology had already been conducted for a long time in our Republic as well as in other scientific centers of the country."

"The Chernobyl accident is very likely the most difficult one because it could not be foreseen. Precisely because the radioactive contamination is of an "insular" nature (it would be considerably easier in the case of general contamination), it is necessary to investigate sites, make necessary analyses, and compile a map on the basis of which the degree of subsequent effect on this or that site has to be determined.

"As far as the utilization of presently contaminated lands for agriculture is concerned, we see two ways to solve this problem. The first is the utilization of crops capable of 'pumping' radioactive substances out of the soil. It goes without saying that these plants themselves would become radioactive and would have to be buried as radioactive waste. This method of soil purification is not bad in itself. To be sure, it is a long process and, most importantly, it requires considerable material expenditure.

"The second way appears more economical: the cultivation of crops that are not susceptible to the radioactive elements now found in Chernobyl fields.

"Strontium-90 and cesium-137 represent the greatest danger to biological systems. Migrating through trophic chains (root systems, plants, animals), they may reach human organisms through food products. Strontium accumulates in bones and is quite difficult to extract (the preventive measure is a diet designed to ensure that there is no shortage of calcium in food).

"And finally the following isotopes are also dangerous: cerium-144, zirconium-95, niobium-95, rhodium, ruthenium, and others. But because they are all inert carbides and metal oxides, they do not deposit and consolidate themselves in organisms by passing through the food chain of man or animal.

"Thus, how should agricultural work be carried out in the contaminated territory? It is obvious that two important questions must be solved. The first question is that of ensuring that the products obtained will be uncontaminated, that is, that the concentration of radioactive substance in them will not exceed the permissible limits. And the second question is that of ensuring that the people engaged in this work will be safe from radiation.

"However, we know that the territory, vegetation, and soil are contaminated. It is necessary to carry out so-called chemical melioration. Otherwise, the radioactive substances will reach ground waters and continue to spread. Therefore, the main task is to prevent radionuclides from spreading.

"How? They must be converted by chemical methods into an unsoluble state and sunk below the main zone of root systems. Having been 'taken out of play,' the radioactive elements will remain underground forever because they do not dissolve by natural means.

"This is technically achieved in the following way: The contaminated surface is treated with unsoluble compounds of calcium that act as a kind of 'carrier of strontium.' Then comes irrigation, either artificial or natural (rain). Having 'captured' strontium, calcium sinks below the arable level. Then the compounds come into play and take it to the necessary depth. These compounds are phosphates, such as ammonium phosphate. Then calcium, together with strontium, is safely buried underground and the plant roots will not bring it to the surface.

"Fighting against cesium is a simpler task. It is easier to remove it from as organism. And... more difficult. What is involved is the fact that plants absorb cesium as readily as they absorb calcium from potassium fertilizers. But cesium, too, consolidates itself in the soil if the latter contains many organic substances such as peat.

"Thus, chemical melioration will make it possible to keep radionuclides deep in the ground and will not let them penetrate the root system of plants and, in the final analysis, the feed for animals and food products for man.

"There is yet another treatment for contaminated soil. Fields are 'fertilized' with lime, dolomite meal, the waste of open-hearth furnace products, and the like, and the surface soil is plowed below the plow sole. Clean soil comes to the surface and below are radionuclides bonded by calcium that will not penetrate to the surface.

"This method is especially good for Chernobyl. The soils there are sod-podzolic, gray-forest, sand, and sandy loam soils. They contain few organic substances and radionuclides can migrate quickly through them.

"As far as practical utilization of Chernobyl lands is concerned," D.M. Grodzinskiy continued, "it is probably more advisable to do the following: The zone directly adjacent to the nuclear power plant where radioactivity is relatively high and where no clean harvest can be obtained should be seeded from the air with calcium compounds to prevent migration and aerosol transfer.

Other areas should be planted with soil-purifying plants, without causing a consolidation of radionuclides. The plants should then be mowed and buried. For instance, lupine is suitable for this phytochemical neutralization.

"As far as the individual, least valuable sectors of land are concerned, it is altogether advisable to turn them into wasteland and return them for a certain period to natural vegetation that will accumulate the necessary organic substances in the soil. This is all the more true because, as I have said, the soils in these regions are the poorest in the republic (this circumstance was also taken into account in choosing the site for the nuclear power plant).

"Furthermore, it is advisable to change the selection of agricultural crops in the zone of higher radioactivity. The plants that should be grown are those whose crops do not carry the danger of radionuclides. For instance, rye absorbs considerable less strontium than wheat. But especially good in this situation are industrial crops that require subsequent processing. Thus, radionuclides are cut off by the process of extraction of starch from potatoes and the final product is perfectly harmless. It is obvious that other industrial crops, such as flax, can also be grown here.

"Chernobyl soils are quite suitable for seeding perennial cereal grasses, such as English blue grass, orchard grass, and others. The fact is that radionuclides have virtually no effect on them. Following the chemical melioration and a reliable consolidation of radionuclides deep in the ground, the land will return to normal, full-blooded life. Fields will no longer be quiet and machines and people will again appear. Life will again settle in its habitual tracks. But it will be necessary to go to quite some trouble to restore this land to life."

Alcohol-Radiation Link Refuted

AU092051 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 5 Jul 86 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Alcoholism and Radiation"]

[Excerpts] More than a year has passed since the new legislative measures for intensifying the struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism were adopted and came into effect in the country. But the adherents of alcohol have not relinquished their positions everywhere. In particular, in connection with the events at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant, rumors about the "medicinal qualities" of red wine and vodka have spread among some groups of the population. Primitive "recommendations" also appeared claiming that in those days children, too, should be given alcholic beverages as a preventive measure.

At the request of PRAVDA UKRAINY, the following participated in the following editorial "roundtable" discussion on these questions: A.E. Romanenko, Ukraine SSR minister of health; Academician F.S. Babichev, vice president of the Ukraine SSR Academy of Sciences; N.M. Amosov, member of the Ukraine SSR Academy of Sciences; M.G. Shandala, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences; Prof. N.A. Gvatua, chief cardiologist of the Ukraine SSR Ministry of Health; Prof. L. P. Kindzelskiy, chief radiologist of the Ukraine SSR Ministry of Health; and S.P. Carnitskiy, senior narcologist at the Ukraine SSR Ministry of Health.

A.E. Romanenko: Measures for struggle against alcoholism have been taken in various periods of our country's development. Today this work, which is important for the health of generations, has been raised to an all-state level. The efforts of the entire society are now aimed at completely eliminating drunkenness and alcoholism. However, it should not be forgotten that alcoholism is a disease that is spread probably by the most resourceful carrier, man who has come under the spell of the "green serpent." People who initially put themselves voluntarily into the chains of alcohol soon find themselves narcotically dependent on them. And society is compelled to take decisive countermeasures, in particular, to develop a wide network of narcological assistance institutions.

The situation caused by radiation this spring made it necessary to intensify the measures of hygiene and other preventive actions. Several scientists and leaders of public health services wrote in the press and appeared on radio and television in this connection. They were pointing out that there are no grounds today for resorting to alcohol. Nevertheless, the Ukraine SSR Ministry of Health and other medical institutions receive telephone calls nearly every day with requests to refute or confirm the views about the benefits of wine and vodka. The harmful myth has proved to be quite tenacious.

What can be said about these false rumors? We have never recommended nor will we ever recommend anything of the kind either as a preventive measure or for medicinal purposes. And the answer to these questions is clear: Alcohol has an extremely negative effect on health.

F.S. Babichev: The Ukraine SSR Academy of Sciences fully shares this position. [passage omitted]

The danger of alcohol to health considerably increases in combination with radiation of even the lowest intensity. And those who favor "cabernet" vines and the like proceed from a farfetched and high-sounding notion claiming that these wines contain compounds that are capable of bonding harmful substances and taking them out of organisms. I want to stress that this is a false assumption. [passage omitted]

The question concerning the growing generation is a special question. In my opinion, the recommendation to "give red wine to children" borders on crime. Dependence on alcohol develops very rapidly in children and the liquor does its insidious work with the speed of fire.

N.M. Amasov: I consider this discussion and the clear and principled position of the Ukraine SSR Ministry of Health, stated here, as being very important. [passage omitted] As far as any prevention of the negative consequences of ionizing radiation is concerned, this is nothing more than a most harmful cock-and-bull story. It is only believed because there are still quite a few people who are nieve or ignorant about elementary medical concepts, as well as being under the influence of those who have become partial to alcohol. The latter are in fact interested in spreading these rumors, and the activation of trade in alcoholic beverages has also contributed to this.

M.G. Shandala: It is indicative that, being deeply alarmed by the hullabaloo about alcohol, many people have forgotten their anxiety about the situation that has developed. [passage omitted] Here, for instance, is a letter from a mother, worried about the fate of her daughter and her son-in-law, both engineers, "who have never indulged in drinking but now, influenced by rumors, conversations, and advice at their work, they have stocked large quantities of wine and they drink every day..." [passage omitted]

Things must be called by their proper names. The alcohol craze that has developed is definitely not something harmless. It is our civic duty to oppose drunkenness. [passage omitted]

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON LIGACHEV IN VORONEZH

LD091640 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 9 Jul 86

[Text] The streets and squares of Voronezh are dressed in festive garb. The town has been awarded the Order of Lenin for its workers' great deeds in the revolutionary movement, their contribution to the fight against the German fascist invaders in the years of the Great Patriotic War, and their successes achieved in economic and cultural contribution, as well as in connection with the 400th anniversary of its founding.

A festive meeting was held here today devoted to the presentation of the high Award, Comrade Ligachev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, spoke at the meeting. The high award of the Soviet state, he said, quite rightly crowns the toil in peace and war of many generations of Voronezh people, many generations of Soviet people whose fate is linked in one way or another to the fate of this glorious Russian town. After having read out the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on the award for Voronezh, Comrade Ligachev, to prolonged applause from those taking part in the meeting, attached the order to the town's banner.

Tours Oblast

LD091941 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 9 Jul 86

[Text] During his stay in Voronezh Oblast from 6 to 9 July, Comrade Ligachev visited the Elektronika scientific-production association. He visited a number of agricultural enterprises of Liskinskiy Rayon and acquainted himself with the work of the Voronezh branch of the USSR Union of Artists. He also met with the heads of departments of social sciences of the city's higher educational establishment. The CPSU Central Committee secretary visited trade enterprises, consumer services, and cultural establishments; he inspected the city's housing developments and visited the apartments of working people.

Comrade Ligachev met with the members of the obkom's bureau and with the first secretaries of gorkoms and raykoms. The attention of the party aktiv was focused on existing shortcomings in the management of industry and agriculture and in work style. The necessity of intensifying attention to the development of the social sphere, resolving such acute problems as the town's water supply, and ensuring the full supply of animal husbandry products to the whole population were emphasized.

Comrade Ligachev laid flowers at the Vladimir Ilyich Lenin memorial and to the monument at (Chizhevskiy) battleground, where heavy fighting took place during the Great Patriotic War. In his trip around the town and the oblast, Comrade Ligachev was accompanied by Comrade Ignatov, first secretary of Voronezh Obkom, and Comrade Voropayev, obliskpolkom chairman.

PROCURATOR GENERAL ON ERADICATING UNEARNED INCOME

LD100500 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 6 Jul 86

["Radio Mailbag" program presented by commentator Boris Kondratov with questions answered by Aleksandr Rekunkov, procurator general]

[Text] [Kondratov] Hello, comrades. Today your questions are answered by Aleksandr Mikhaylovich Rekunkov, USSR procurator general. The letters we have chosen are those containing requests for comment on the decisions of the party and government in stepping up the struggle against unearned income. As is known, the new enforceable act came into operation this week. To begin with Aleksandr Mikhaylovich, we would like to hear about the tasks which now very acutely face those who work in your system, as there is more than one mention of the prosecution service in the documents. Evidently the role of the public prosecutions directorate is increasing considerably?

[Rekunkov] Because the basic sources of unearned income are linked with criminal activity -- primarily with theft, bribe-taking, speculation, and other crimes of a mercenary nature -- new efforts are going to be concentrated on the fight against them. Naturally, the main direction of all organizational and practical measures lies in creating an atmosphere in which punishment is inevitable for those who love to get rich at society's expense. As you know there is nothing trifling in this, everything is important: the increase in the professional skill of those who work in law enforcement organs; the introduction of the achievements of science and technology into practical work; and, what is perhaps the main thing, the psychological reshaping of attitude to the job in hand by every prosecutor and investigator.

What sometimes happens? Everything looks very up-to-date in the speeches, the lectures and the reports and it seems that the right man is indeed in the right place. But then it happens that the law needs to be defended, not in abstract terms, that justice needs to be restored; it needs to be shown that for the prosecutor the interests of the whole state exist above all else, specifically that the leader of an enterprise needs to be proceeded against for false accounting or a well-known official in the town or rayon needs to be brought to account as a bureaucrat with no regard for the law, and so on. But what if these comrades are not alone? What if they are backed all the way by local leaders? And that, unfortunately, happens. It is then that the principled attitude of the prosecutor is tested, his ability to act only according to the law and without regard for existing local and departmental influences. Not everyone manages to pass this test successfully, fighting, as they say.

We are also conducting a merciless struggle against unprincipled behavior, against incorrect attitudes toward the approaches that people make, against injustice. Workers of the USSR prosecutions department have begun to go out more, to go into labor collectives. Much is changing for the better. However there is much work to be done and there is no time to just get into the swing, because stepping up the fight against non-labor income and other negative manifestations has to be done now: concrete results must be achieved not just at some time in the future but each and every day, constantly.

[Kondratov] Aleksandr Mikhaylovich, the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee talks directly about the need for the prosecution organs to step up supervision of the observance of labor, housing and land law, and of the kolkhoz model rules. Prokofana, a listener from the Khabarovsk Kray, asks why attention has been drawn precisely to these areas?

[Rekunkov] The fight against crimes of a mercenary nature is now fairly heated. Traditional forms and methods of law enforcement activity have been put soundly into operation here, although it is of course necessary to introduce certain amendments, and serious ones at that. As far as violations of labor, housing and land legislation are concerned, previously the struggle against these has been carried out weakly, and it is precisely here that considerable unearned income has been springing up.

Let's take housing legislation for example. It stipulates the conditions on which housing is made available for rent, the threat that faces individuals who use housing for speculative purposes, and so on. However, it has to be admitted that the local soviet and law enforcement organs have not yet been able to organize monitoring and supervision to exert a real influence on the situation. Actual payment for housing leased out exceeds the norm by between five and ten times, particularly in resort areas, in republic and oblast centers, and major industrial cities. Some citizens living in accommodation that belongs to the state housing stock have turned housing into a source of personal enrichment. Having excessive residential living space at their disposal or while actually living in relatives' living space, they rent their rooms and apartments for other citizens to live in, and they receive payment for the use of the housing in an increased sum. In accordance with the law, however, this cannot exceed the amount of the rent paid for the accommodation by the tenant plus the cost of municipal services.

As a result of measures taken, for example, by the prosecution organs in the city of Baku, 900 citizens were exposed who did not themselves live in the apartments made available to them, but who rented them out, receiving up to R100 per month. According to the requirements of the legislation, R80,000 which had been received illegally as a result of operations involving housing of this kind were recovered by the action of the prosecutors and added to the income of the state. Also placed before the court has been the question of prosecuting a number of citizens who have lost the right to housing accommodation and should be evicted because they have not resided in the housing made available to them for a long time but instead have used it as a source of non-labor income.

Considerable abuse takes place when there are exchanges of housing. When some people exchange a larger apartment for a smaller one they effectively trade in state housing accommodation, since they demand payment for the difference in the number of square meters between the apartments being exchanged. Exchanges of this kind that are mercenary in character are not permitted. And if they have nevertheless been carried out they are declared invalid by the court. Concrete measures are now being taken. A register of individuals who rent housing is going to be organized. Procedures for registering agreements and maximum rents have been established. The organizational side of this issue and the fulfillment of obligations by the relevant organs in exposing at the right time individuals speculating in housing and brokers getting rich on exchange operations are also being viewed by the prosecution departments.

As the prosecution service is now going to closely deal with these questions, I would like to ask listeners to assist the prosecution workers locally, to the point them in the right direction, and to draw their attention to the problems that are of the greatest interest today.

[Kondratov] Let's turn now to land legislation, Aleksandr Mikhaylovich. Comrades Belousova from Rzhev and Kulayev from Nalchik ask: What happens in the case of citizens who give up their jobs at the enterprise and turn their ancilliary or garden plot into an industrial production facility? Greenhouses have been built and they trade on the market in early vegetables and flowers at three times the price.

[Rekunkov] There is a straightforward answer to this question. Action must be taken according to the law, in accordance with land legislation. Primarmy land users -- kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and executive committees of local soviets -- have the right in such cases to confiscate the plot. The sizes and the procedures under which greenhouses and other similar structures are to be used are regulated by the legislation. The trouble is that often these laws are not applied to individuals who extract unearned income. When a law is not applied, however, it is the responsibility of the prosecutor to make the officials concerned answer for this. At the same time, it is very important not to encroach upon the interests of those citizens who grow agricultural produce in their time free from work and who sell their surpluses on the market. There is nothing at all illegal in this. As a rule they are not the ones who set the prices too high -- that is done by those who buy and sell, by the speculators. The struggle is being stepped up against them.

A procedure has been established for registering individuals engaged in the sale of produce at kolkhoz markets. The rights have been broadened and the responsibility has been raised of the market administrations to issue warnings about speculation and stop it, along with other forms of deriving unearned income. Measures have also been envisaged by consumer cooperatives.

Violation of the labor legislation also generates unjust incomes. Take, for example, the so-called practice of moonlighting. Temporary construction teams bring great benefits and no one has any intention of limiting their labor and their payment. But spontaneity, anarchy, and lack of control in this matter is used so often by businessmen to extract unearned income that the time has come when order must be brought to the work of these teams and there must be strict supervision over the observance of labor legislation.

[Kondratov] Aleksandr Mikhaylovich, listeners are interested in the legal side of the measures to combat unearned income. Here is one letter: "In the past, too, bribe-takers, pilferers, and speculators were punished, and quite severely. So why was it necessary to make amendments to the criminal legislation," asks Zinaida Grigoriyevna Volochko, from Kiev. "What is new in the legal standards?"

[Rekunkov] Zinaida Grigoryevna is certainly right, they were punished, and quite severely. But time does not stand still, conditions change, and our attitude to certain phenomena changes. The law has never been lenient toward bribe-takers, and yet the amenability of the most dangerous bribe-takers, that is, those occupying a responsible position, who have received previous convictions for bribe-taking or who have taken a particularly large bribe, is being increased. This step has been taken because such actions have come into flagrant contradiction with our reality, with the process of renewal in the country, with the principles of social justice. Fairly severe amenability is being introduced for unauthorized use for selfish purposes of state transport facilities, machines, and mechanisms. This is not simply to fill in a blank space in legislation, it strikes a substantial blow at an extremely dangerous source of unearned income. I do not think it necessary to cite an example here. Too often in the past few years people have come up against self-seekers driving around and such living it up at the expense of the state and citizens. An end should have been put to such outlaws. The new laws are designed to do this.

Taking into consideration the widespread nature of violations of the regulations for use of domestic power or gas, the illegal acquisition of building materials, and games of chance, various forms of amenability have been fixed for these illicit methods of deriving unearned income. Legal sanctions against private entreprenuerial activity and commercial mediation have become more severe. Criminal amenability has been introduced for minor speculation by persons who, in the course of a year, have twice incurred administrative penalty for such actions. I probably do not need to list all the new innovations. I will only stress that they have a clear, consistent purpose: to strike at sources of unearned income.

[Kondratov] And what about the pilferers who have been proliferating as a result of lack of supervision and negligent stock-taking, as Dogayev from Irkutsk, Golubev from Leningrad, and other listeners claim?

[Rekunkov] One cannot fail to admit that the law did not fully take into account the danger of this evil. Now, however, in keeping with the new legislation, the administration is granted the right to dismiss a worker for a single case of minor embezzlement. This is substantial, as is the fact that the fine for this offense has been raised to R200. If one adds that such people, as well as being brought to administrative amenability, and the measures of social influence being applied to them, are deprived of all types of bonuses, remuneration for results of year's work, subsidized travel, that they may lose their place in line for housing, it becomes quite clear that society will no longer tolerate pilferers and other parasites who try to live at other people's expense, for they steal not only from the state. Our property belongs to all the people, it is alone the main source of the people's wealth as a whole and of each Soviet person individually. The essence of the new law is understandable to all. As against drunkenness, we have declared a campaign against unearned income. Both these monstrous phenomena are incompatible with the socialist way of life. They run counter to the interests of the working people. That is why the recently adopted large-scale decisions have been met with satisfaction by all working people. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, at the June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, stressed that their practical implementation must be conducted in such a way that they eradicate this phenomenon so alien to socialism and serve to improve the living conditions of the working people.

[Kondratov] Aleksandr Mikhaylovich, from the published document it is evident that the fundamental character of the new norms lies in strengthening state and public supervision of labor and consumption. But in connection with this letter from Yegor Markovich Zolotukhin from Perm I think it appropriate to explain the connection the notorious wage-leveling, false accounting and full pay for botched work has with unearned income.

[Rekunkov] It has the most direct connection, because this is all a source of unearned money. It cannot be tolerated that workers of enterprises producing botched or useless products often have an easy life. They receive in full both their wages and bonuses and other benefits, and receive all this for work that has been wrought for nothing, without any good to society. Therefore, as has been indicated in the party decisions, cardinal measures are needed to exclude the production of botched manufactures and goods of low quality.

In the system of these measures, of great importance is the use of the whole force of the law -- material, administrative, and in certain cases the effect of criminal law too. All prosecutors now aim to achieve specific progress in this particular sector which is one of the most important directions: the implementation of surveillance in the sphere of the economy.

Everywhere, with the aid of experts working in coordination with monitoring bodies, and with Gosstardart officials, unsatisfactory enterprises are being singled out, and measures are being carried out to prevent and halt the manufacture of low quality products. Certain botchers had to be taken to court. Prosecutors have become considerably more forthcoming not only in bringing cases against botchers but also in raising the question of the responsibility of official personages, directors of enterprises and institutions who connive at these crude violations of state discipline and who do not claim damages from the guilty. Taking into consideration that this is a cause of all the people, and to create an atmosphere of intolerance toward botchers and people who try to pass off substandard production, workers of the Procurator's office are now toiling with open publicity. They are giving working collectives information and legal aid.

[Kondratov] Comrade Karshin from Moscow is interested to know if the campaign is to be stepped up against fraudulent accounting, that gives the impression of a favorable state of affairs in the work of an enterprise.

[Rekunkov] Yes, because it is not just that it gives the impression of a favorable state of affairs in the work. Fraudulent accounting disorganizes the economy. It leads to the upset of labor discipline. It undermines the principle of labor remuneration. The wages and bonuses enumerated in the fraudulently accounted volume of work done amounts to millions of rubles, and is of course unearned income generated by essentially demoralized cadres. The campaign against fraudulent accounting is being stepped up, but it has not been possible so far to totally wipe it out.

The persistence of fraudulent accounting is primarily connected with departmental tolerance, connivance on the part of the superior ranks of the economic administration. The absolute majority of cases of fraudulent accounting are concealed not by these bodies themselves but by institutions of non-departmental control whose powers are considerably restricted. There are also cases of protection of those who cook the books on the part of certain heads of local bodies.

False entries are explained by valid reasons. When you try to investigate, you see that the root lies elsewhere: in a wish to report plan fulfillment at any cost, in badly organized production, in violation of labor and technological discipline, finally, in mismanagement. The directions of the CPSU Central Committee on this subject are extremely clear: There must be no room for deceit of the state, those who cook the books have no right to occupy their positions. It is from this standpoint that the law enforcing bodies structure their work. The main principle of socialism is: From each according to his abilities to each according to his work. This embodies the essence of social justice. When we come across far from individual cases of so-called jacking up of pay [Vyvodilovka], attempts to equalize the pay for conscientious, productive labor with that for the labor of a negligent worker, the fixing of guaranteed rates of pay unconnected with the labor contribution, then it is plain to see that unearned income and a negligent attitude to public interests are in the making. I want to state quite definitely that at the root of all these phenomena, too, lie violations of the law.

All juridical relations connected with labor remuneration, with the securing of a strict relationship between wage and quantity and quality of labor, with the use of public consumption funds, are now fully enough regulated in legislation. But in the numerous departmental instructions and directions that have accumulated over the decades, there exist quite a few clauses fettering managerial autonomy and opportunities for putting order into labor remuneration, and militating against reorganization. Here, of course, clear order must be introduced.

[Kondratov] Here are some more letters, Aleksandr Mikhaylovich; Vitaliy Ivanovich Boldyrev from Novoaleksandrovka, Stavropol Kray, Comrades Luzurenko from Leningrad, Yelagin from Moscow, and many other our of our listeners consider that in the campaign against unearned income, the role of the directors is great. I quote from a letter: Indeed, the personal example of irreproachable fulfillment of his lofty duty before society can hardly be overestimated, writes Comrade Bondarenko from Kharkov. But no sooner does a different boss come along than he has all kinds of crafty schemers poking around him and before you know where you are he is mixed up in a lot of dubious intrigues himself -- It is hard not to agree with this opinion.

[Rekunkov] You've already answered the question. Quite definitely it should be said that the huge educational work for strenghtening discipline and organization that was mounted after the April Plenum of 1985 is producing tangible results. At many enterprises and institutions it has been possible to effectively bar the way to embezzlement and also to unearned income and various abuses. As a rule this is the result of the joint efforts of the administration, public organizations, and the entire working collective.

An atmosphere of mutual exactingness, businesslike efficiency, a principled attitude to violations, is not created on its own. Here the role of the director is graphically displayed. People take their cue from him, they judge their own actions according to his behavior, both good and bad, as happens in every collective. There can be no reorganization where the director does not institute social justice with his own practical actions, where he permits deviation from the law. When you study a specific case or the investigation materials concerning the criminal extraction of unearned income, it is evident that it came about largely because certain officials were not fulfilling their duty to ensure the observance of the law in the activity of the enterprises and organizations under their management. It is the atmosphere of lack of supervision, irresponsibility, and connivance that is most often used by swindlers and money grubbers. The Procurator's Office has come up against numerous facts of this kind during investigations into enterprises of trade, consumer services, construction, and the State Committee for Petroleum Products system. It was discovered that many violations of the law here did not encounter real opposition on the part of certain directors. The lack of will on the part of certain managers to deal with the law and with the state discipline that is compulsory for everyone, connivance at negative phenomena, costs society dearly, and in a number of instances it leads to serious downfalls and the moral degradation of directors who find themselves on trial.

Practice shows that degeneration of the personality does not happen suddenly or instantaneously. It starts with gifts, presents, gratuities, and treats. What are they? When it is an official who is involved, the director, where is the dividing line between a gift and a bribe? One official, in a letter to the USSR Procurator's Office, described his downfall thus: At first it was just flowers, later they started bringing fruit. It only seemed trifles. The spirits were added. That's how I fell into dependence, that's how I was trapped by toadies, yes-men, and bribers.

So erosion of the conscience is a prolonged process, and it cannot go unnoticed where the Leninist principles of party and state affairs are adhered to, where any deviation from the norms of morality and the law must be exactingly answered for.

The Procurator's Office tries not only to stop violations but also to instill in both directors and rank-and-file workers a spirit of respect for Soviet laws, and to form, with the backing of other social institutions, public opinion and citizens' intolerance toward any deviation from the law. The main task of the procurator's office is to prevent the escalation of law violations into crime, and for this purpose, on each concrete fact of violation of the law it is necessary to make principled conclusion of a preventive nature.

Another thing I cannot help mentioning: We are justly indignant at unearned income, at people's clearly expressed acquisitiveness, self-seekers, and bribe takers. But let's think: Where do they live? Where do they work? Their addresses are clearly known: in a specific work collective, in a town, in a village, in a particular organization. So who should make them come clean, who is going to tell them to work and live according to their conscience, observing Soviet laws which are obligatory for all? That is why the resolution of the Central Committee notes that the whole party and the whole people must be roused to fight against unearned income. Then the results will certainly begin to show.

[Kondratov] Aleksandr Mikhaylovich, many letters are connected with private labor activity. Comrades Novikova from Kishinev, Balabanova from Moscow Oblast, and Makritsov from Tula, ask: How will matters stand with coaching and other types of services provided privately? What is permitted and what is banned? What sanctions are provided for by the new law?

[Rekunkov] Let's take them one at a time. Let's start with the USSR Constitution. Article 17 says that in keeping with the law private labor activity is permitted in the sphere of handicrafts, agriculture, consumer services, and other types of activity based exclusively on the private work of citizens and members of their families. At the 27th CPSU Congress it was pointed out that while halting unearned income a shadow should not fall on those who obtain additional earnings through honest labor. Moreover, the state will help the development of various forms of satisfying the demands of the populace and the provision of services. Close examination must be made of the proposal on putting order into private labor activity.

A law is now being drafted on private labor activity. This activity is regarded as a means of involving citizens in socially useful activity and is an additional source of satisfying the requirements of the populace for goods and services. It is envisaged that the executive committees of local soviets and people's deputies should give people engaged in private labor activity help in acquiring raw material, semi-finished products, tools, a market for their output, and they can also grant them non-residential premises for these purposes. Overall, the point of the law is not to ban private labor but, on the contrary, to develop it. The law is needed because previously much here was not regulated. There is an absence of necessary supervision. Taking advantage of this, certain people fix immoderately high prices for goods and services. The law will clearly define what types of private labor activity are permitted and what are banned as damaging to the interests of society. There will be order in registration of people engaged in such activity, measures of amenability for violation of the established regulations. With the norms contained in acts already adopted, this will make it possible, on the one hand, to successfully combat existing facts of abuse, such as engaging in illicit trades, tax evasion, demanding of immoderately high payment for services, and so on; and on the other hand, to clearly define the legal status of people engaged in private labor activity, including, incidentally coaching, and to end the phenomenon whereby working people who are quite legally obtaining extra earnings for working outside normal hours find themselves under suspicion and are regarded almost as parasites. Such misunderstandings and violations occur not through the severity of the law, but through still current manifestations of parochialism, bureaucratism and at times high-handedness.

[Kondtratov] The editorial desk, Aleksandr Mikhaylovich, receives quite a few letters with reports that allegedly the fellow next door is living beyond his means or someone is building a dacha on a grand scale and asks if inquiries should be made. Let's have a look, Listeners Yerushkin from Kemerovo, Mikheyev from Kalniningrad, and Volodin from Mytishchi all have concrete facts of abuses, in their opinions, punishable by law. We usually send these letters on to the law enforcing bodies with the request to take appropriate measures if necessary. It would be interesting to know if such activity by certain citizens helps the Procurator's Office. Are the signals confirmed? And another question: What is your attitude towards anonymous letters?

[Rekunkov] Quite a few dangerous criminals have been exposed through letters and statements by citizens. Of late questions of great social import have been raised, specific proposals have been made on stepping up the campaign against mismanagement, violations of state production discipline, and unearned income.

It is through the appeals by working people that it has been possible in many cities to strengthen law and order. I will go further: the letters, whose character has in many ways changed, contain so much authentic and valuable information about the state of the campaign against negative phenomena, such as drunkenness, bribe-taking and extortion -- you cannot enumerate them all -- that this information makes it possible to supervise the fulfillment of vitally important decisions, and this is now the essence of the matter. I wish to take this opportunity to thank those citizens who have, through their letters, been helping the law enforcing bodies to correctly find their way in this situation and who point out bottlenecks and shortcomings. We are trying to more fully take into account public opinion and listen to it. People who take an active, militant position in the campaign against negative phenomena can be assured that they will find full support and will receive help from the law enforcing bodies, including the Procurator's Office.

Finally, about anonymous letters. This phenomenon is, to say the least undesirable, especially when they libel an honest person. With the help of anonymous letters we will not succeed in actively developing open criticism and self-criticism. As was noted in the party documents, anonymous libel is totally incompatible with the principles of communist morals and there should be no room for it in our life. Calumny is in flagrant contradiction to the high level of consciousness and the refined conscience of Soviet people. It is no accident that at the end of last year there was an intensification in criminal amenability for calumny in anonymous letters.

Now about the verification of reports. As you mentioned, the fellow next door is living beyond his means, is building a dacha on a grand scale and so on. Any signal, any statement concerning unearned income is verified in accordance with a procedure established by law. If it is a matter of a crime, then naturally an investigation is made with all the norms and professional guarantees being observed. In all cases when it is a question of unearned income, the competent bodies must establish the guilt of the citizen. Only after that does legal action follow for acts committed in connection with the extraction of unearned income. Here of course it is important to observe the principle of the presumption of innocence and resolutely prevent any bureaucratic distortions encroaching on the interests, protected by law, of Soviet citizens. No kind of arbitrariness, no kind of suspicion, still less defamation of honest people, can be permitted at any time. The bodies of the Procurator's Office will take every necessary measure to this aim.

[Kondratov] Well, Aleksandr Mikhaylovich, let me thank you for your answers to listeners' questions and for taking part in the Radio Mailbag broadcast.

MARKOV REPORT TO WRITERS UNION CONGRESS 24 JUNE

PM270815 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 Jun 86 pp 1-3, 5

[Report delivered by G.M. Markov, first secretary of the USSR Writers Union board, at 24 June opening session of the Eighth USSR Writers Congress in the Great Kremlin Palace: "Never Cut Yourselves Off From the Concerns of the Modern World, From Our People's Life"]

[Text] Comrades!

The Eighth USSR Writers Congress has gathered at a remarkable time. Our party and people are living and working in an atmosphere of struggle for the implementation of the 27th CPSU Congress decisions, when the energy of intentions is being transformed into the energy of actions. The June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee that took place the other day oriented us with new force toward the intensive fulfillment of the party's intentions concerning the radical restructuring of all sectors of life and the unconditional fulfillment of plans for the 12th 5-Year Plan period.

The party's course of accelerating socioeconomic development and the strategy of lasting peace have met with the understanding and support of all the people.

The historic decisions of the party congress open up for workers in literature broad scope for an innovative, talented artistic quest and for active, intensive creative activity. The congress defined the major tasks facing the craftsmen of the word. The CPSU Central Committee political Report to the party congress noted: "Society's moral health and the spiritual climate in which people live are determined to a considerable extent by the state of literature and art. Our literature, while reflecting the birth of the new world, at the same time played an active part in the formation of that world by molding the people to inhabit it -- patriots of the motherland and true internationalists. Thus it correctly chose its place, its role in the cause of the whole people. But also this is the criterion by which the people and party evaluate the work of the writer and artist, and indeed by which literature itself and Soviet art evaluate their own tasks."

It is from the vantage point of the party congress ideas that we must responsibly and exactingly evaluate the present-day literary process, comprehensively and thoughtfully interpret our successes, failures, and shortcomings, and define realistic ways of uncovering all our potential.

The party congress set us an example of an honest, principles approach to omissions and shortcomings -- a real lesson in truth.

This lesson was continued during the meeting between Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and the writers who took part as USSR Supreme Soviet deputies in the work of its fifth session, as well as a group of the capital's literary figures. Speaking of the historic moment that our society is living through, M.S. Gorbachev stressed that a vast field of activity is now opening up for artistic creativity, with its vast force of social influence. He noted in his speech that Soviet writers have never cut themselves off from the concerns of the modern world or from our people's life. This meeting will undoubtedly enrich the work of our congress, and the writers will make use of the party's advice in their day-to-day activity.

The main subject of our discussion is literature, our main concern is the flourishing of the country's artistic culture, and the main guideline for our aspirations is the ideas of the 27th CPSU Congress, the ideas of communist creation.

For us writers there is no more important concern today than the concern for man's spiritual development. With our creative work we will continue to help the party to implement its large-scale, realistic course of acceleration and effective restructuring in all spheres of economic and social activity. And above all in the restructuring of people's way of thinking and their attitude to the cause and in the strengthening of organization and discipline. The times themselves challenge us, demand from us purposefulness and determination, practical action and assertiveness, they summon the writer to create new works worthy of our people and our great motherland.

The CPSU Central Committee Political Report to the 27th party congress stresses the need for every person to understand the crucial nature of the moment we are living through, its significance as a turning point. Analyzing the path trodden by literature in recent years, we see that its movement was a difficult quest for a new, truly artistic expression of the people's life today in all its multiplicity, drama, and magnitude. There were considerable difficulties, gains, and losses along this path.

The best artistic works of recent times show that literature was living and developing, sensing the urgent need in society for a transition to a qualitatively new level. It proved to be inwardly prepared for the course adopted by the party. it probed the painful spots in our daily life and unfavorable trends in the social and spiritual sphere. The most acute social and moral problems which are now at the center of the public's attention were put into a number of talented novels and stories, poems, plays, and sketches by writers in all the republics.

And it is also of some importance that journals and newspapers boldly made their pages available for writing on current issues [publitsistika]. Our literary press became particularly active after the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum.

At the same time we must admit that recent years have also been marked by a certain unfavorable trend in the development of the literary process. Readers complain about the appearance of dull, timeserving works. Both in prose and poetry at times negative phenomena have only been mentioned, without any appeal being made to fight against them, to wage the struggle which the party has called us to today -- against stagnation, ostentation, and complacency.

But, saddest of all, at times the distinctions between literature and pseudoliterature were erased and fudged, and not without the help of critics who scorn objectivity. Whole "catalogs" of writers' names and works were built up, works which were very different in ideological and artistic standard but were praised with identical fervor. The struggle against these alarming occurrences poses acute, complex problems for literature and criticism today.

Now that the social atmosphere is permeated by the quest for intensive new paths for society's development, we feel particularly keenly how urgent it is for literary people to participate actively in this process. Responding to the party's program demands, every one of us must persistently and purposefully uncover the creative reserves of the method of socialist realism and selflessly strive to improve the ideological and artistic quality of literature and increase its influence on life.

The Union's elected organs and its staff apparatus are called upon to play a considerable role in this major work. Unfortunately, there are many shortcomings in their activity.

The boards and secretariats of writers' organizations can only fulfill their functions successfully by constantly improving their work style. First and foremost this means practical relevance, effectiveness, consistency, unity of word and deed, openness, and constant consideration for the opinion of members of the Union.

It must be said that in the period under review substantial shortcomings were also characteristic of the activity of the secretariat of the USSR Writers' Union board. We did not devote sufficient attention to improving the organization of our work. Not infrequently our reaction to the demands of literary life and the development of the literary process has amounted only to listening to the question and adopting yet another document -- the umpteenth! We did not give enough thought to how to orient writers' organizations even more toward ensuring that writers are aware every day of the attention of their elected organs toward the main task of literary people -- creating works. The discussion of problems of improving the ideological and artistic standard of creative work, creating a vivid image of our contemporary man, and combating the negative phenomena of our life was allowed to take place without a due sense of urgency or comprehensive analysis of writers' works.

Eliminating such shortcomings, the future board of the USSR Writers' Union and its secretariat must without fail promote still closer links between writers and life and the strengthening of an atmosphere of principles and organization among writers and responsibility for the results of creative work and for their behavior in society.

The "challenge of the time," the currents of the present day, the voice of the people's conscience... It is eternal, and it is always new. So it was in those distant years when the legendary poet composed his immortal lines about Prince Igor's army and the terrible strife among princes; so it was when Pushkin's genius correctly prophesied a union of free peoples; so it was in the years when the whole of our boundless motherland was in the grip of revolutionary transformation; and in the years of the fascist invasion when every Soviet person faced the implacable question: "Will we remain in the land of our ancestors?" We hear the "challenge of the time" today, in the eighties, as we approach the departure of the heroic 20th century from the arena of history -- the chronological arena, and only the chronological arena.

The times summon the artist... I would like at once, albeit briefly, to characterize the main feature of our literary life -- the artists' hunger for an understanding of contemporary reality, for a profound comprehension of man, of his actions and feelings. This is our tradition, taught us by our classical writers, this is a feature of our socialist primacy! It is with satisfaction -- more, with pride -- that we feel ourselves to be a part of the innovative people who are laying unheard-of paths in world history and creating a society whose like many centuries of civilization have not known.

In the West, they depict our creative life like this: The party and society name topics for us, and we writers fulfill those instructions. Cheap and easy, as the saying goes! Yet another distortion of the truth reduced to absurdity.

We do not write to order, but on the basis of the objective need which is born in society itself and develops there, arising from the deep wells of the people's consciousness; this is also a foreshadowing of the needs of the spiritual development of the masses and the individual.

For this "order" to be carried out or merely adopted for execution, the writer's consciousness must be ready. Has the writer heard the "challenge of the time" or not, has he understood it correctly or is he mistaken -- that is the begining of what we call the creative risk, and without that risk it is impossible for the writer to enter into the interpretation of reality and the recreation of the image of the heroes of the time.

The party's course of respect for talent, support for talent, and understanding of the fact that talent flourishes if it develops an increasing sense of responsibility -- this course forms an integral part of the strategic concept of socioeconomic and spiritual acceleration outlined by the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum and developed by the 27th party congress.

Here it is apposite to recall a very important proposition for us in the CPSU Central Committee Political Report: "When the social need arises to interpret the times, particularly when they are crucial times, the times theselves always brings forward people for whom this is an inner need. We are living in such a time now. Neither the party nor the people needs showy verbiage or petty grubbing around in social themes, time-swerving or opportunism. Society expects from the writer artistic discoveries, the truth about life, which has always been the essence of real art."

Real changes are needed in the work of our writers' unions and their boards and secretariats. It was rightly said at the 27th CPSU Congress that "the main result of their work is measured not by resolutions and sessions, but by talented, original books, movies, shows, pictures, and musical works which society needs and which are capable of enriching the people's spiritual life."

Everyone who knows the history of Soviet literature and is capable of objectively judging how our literature has progressed in historical times cannot fail to note that the party's trust is constantly growing, deepening, becoming qualitatively different -- ever more effective -- as we develop. The role of creative unions -- unions of writers, composers, artists, cinema workers, and theater workers -- has never before been raised so high as it is now.

The new edition of the CPSU Program, adopted by the 27th party congress, contains a premise which is extremely important and inspiring for us: the party leads the literary and artistic process, with reliance on the creative unions. Reliance! We follow the party, draw our inspiration from its ideas, its policy, and the practice of its gigantic work, but the party, in turn, declares that it relies on the creative intelligentsia, on the creative unions.

That is why questions of the work of our Union and of all its components should be a subject of special attention today.

Take our fund of journals and newspapers: There are 86 monthly journals and 16 newspapers with a total print run in excess of 12.5 million copies per issue. And our publishing houses? The USSR Writers Union central sovetskiy Pisatel Publishing House alone annually publishes 500 or more titles with a print run of more than 25 million copies, of which more than one-third are translations from languages of the USSR's peoples. Then there is the Literary Foundation [Litfond] with its diverse responsibilities, its duties on whose fulfillment the standard of social services and the well-being of writers largely depends... But let us ask: How are we using this potential? Are all these organizations and institutions working smoothly, efficiently, with an understanding of their great responsibility?

It must be observed that at the republican writers congresses, almost all of them, a good deal was said about the experience of organizational and creative work. Let us say frankly that we are far from satisfied with everything either in our own work as the so-called "big union," or in the work of the republican organizations and editorial offices of journals and newspapers.

We do not always make active use of our constitutional right to social intiative, but we do something or other "to score points," as they say, for the sake of energy, leaving no discernible trace.

We must think very seriously about how in future, while perserving everything positive -- and there is plenty of that -- to conduct Soviet Literature Days, creative conferences, and literary festivals, and how to build our relationship with readers, who now have their own organization of bibliophiles.

It seems to us that the time has come when it is necessary to fundamentally revise the system of relations between publishers and writers and writers and readers, to find stimuli in it to facilitate the emergence of talented works and guard against colorlessness and mediocrity. But I will come back to this question.

For all our critical approach to our work, it should be noted that in recent years many writers' organizations have made more effort to step up their influence on the literary process. This is indicated, in particular, by one sphere of our contacts -- creative discussions. But are we sufficiently principled in holding them?

We often speak of the importance of criticism and self-criticism, of the creation of exactingness in the literary milieu, and we often lose sight of the fact thattrue professionalism arises only when we speak of literature and its various phenomena with commitment and principle, from party standpoints, when we are not petty and do not bring trivial group predilections into important work.

We have sought to organize things in this way, and at times we have achieved quite good results. Especially when we have listened to readers' opinions. Let us recall, for instance, the all-union creative conferences in Tyumen, Alma-Ata, Fergana, and Leningrad, at which problems of life and literature were discussed with the broad participation of the public and representatives of big labor collectives. Many a time plenums of the USSR Writers Union board and meetings of the secretariat have examined our journals' activity and discussed the work of republican writers' unions both in general and on individual issues. At councils on the fraternal literatures and councils on literary genres such discussions have also helped to create an atmosphere of collectivism and stimulated a quest for more correct artistic decisions and increased social activeness on the part of writers.

If you look carefully at everything that has been said in the USSR Writers Union about literature and about individual genres and works, you can see how many valuable proposals, observations, and ideas have been put forth. But we have not learned to put them into practice intelligently, persistently, step by step. There have been cases like this: We discuss a journal, then we see that nothing has changed, we can repeat all that was said some time ago. This means not only that the editorial office has failed to take much account of its shortcomings, but also that the secretariat has not helped ensure the prompt implementation of its own suggestions.

"Galvanizing the human factor." This is directly relevant to us. In brief, the task of writers organizations is to stimulate creative output in more varied, less formal ways and promote public benefit both from collective efforts and, of course, from each writer's personal efforts.

People say that you cannot program a writer's work. Some people work a great deal and rapidly, and some little and slow. To tell the truth, quality does not always depend on the quantity of work done or its pace: Nature does not endow everyone with identical talents.

Let us look at the many veterans of multinational Soviet literature -- those who, to our sorrow, have departed this life in recent years, and those who are healthy and working. Working well and much! Because at the writing desk, when they work, they give themselves no quarter and make no allowances. Neither M. Shaginyan, M. Bazhan, V. Katayev, G. Musrepov, Kaysyn Kuliyev, nor M. Khrapchenko made allowances. Neither V. Kaverin, I. Abashidze, G. Abashidze, A. Tokombayev, D. Kikhachev, I. Andronikov, K. Yashen, nor S. Rustam makes allowances, and nor do many more writers who took part in the Great Patriotic War. There are plenty of examples for us to follow!

We in the Writers Union have nearly 10,000 members, and if you count all those who publish at a professional level, there are at least twice that number. And they all want to be published, at once, without delay, and they want the trumpets to be sounded about their work all over the country, or even beyond... But here, under all this "pressure," all of us must hold on to our sensitivity, attentiveness, ability to perceive talent, support it with all our might, and make way for a brilliant work, as well as our determination to send back to the author a mediocre work, dirmly and fearlessly -- sometimes for reworking, if the manuscript is not beyond hope.

What, you might think, could be simpler than to distinguish a really talented work from a colorless one?! But no. This requires ideological clarity, keen intellect and character, good artistic and aesthetic equipment, and great comradely, human diligence. And that is what we call the personal responsibility of every one us to the party and society.

Of course, in supporting a talented work you are taking a risk, sharing the creative risk with the author, and here errors are always possible, but what happiness awaits you -- critic, publisher, or comrade in the "workshop" -- when your own sense of the author's talent is then justified by active support from readers, approving reactions in the press, and the obvious artistic talent, sensed by everyone, of the writer.

To say that all is well with us in this sphere would be to embellish the facts. Not infrequently mediocre or even downright colorless works still creep into the pages of journals or come out as individual publications, and without the slightest delay, while talented things are held up, put to one side for a long time, and hedged about by many internal reviews.

We have many literary people of all ages who are working intensively -- and this is our joy. The whole bulk of our multinational literature, all its genres, is advanced by such writers. Their names can be seen by millions of readers, and that is their great reward for their tireless labor. What we need -- and this is the duty of our press, and above all of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA -- is to systematically report the experience of such writers. After all, it has long been known that there is no better way to rouse others to healthy competition than to give wide publicity to the example of a master who possesses the secrets of his profession and willingness to fulfill his creative and civic duty.

The main line which must be followed is defined by one thing: the ability to see what is most important in life and depict it vividly, truthfully, and courageously. Yes, courageously.

Our people in courageous, heroic professions need not complain that I am deliberately adding literary people to their ranks. That is not what I want to do. But when a writer picks up lumps of new material, when he pits the strength of his soul against inertia, stagnation, egotism, and obsolete ideas, when he clears away the moral barriers in the path of the development of the socialist individual -- extreme intensity of effort is required of him, he is going into battle. And battle, as everyone knows, is no simple matter, it requires both conviction and staunchness.

Our congress delegates know that discussion at plenary sessions will be combined with discussion in the genre commissions. This has been done to ensure a more concrete approach and greater attention to the experience accumulated recently by our multinational Soviet literature.

Our multinational unity is strengthening. This is perhaps the most significant characteristic of the literary development of recent years.

Today, without making any allowances and without any false courtesy, we can see the reality of the augmentation of the all-union literary wealth with the experience of each national literature.

Without listing every possible example, let us say in this connection that, for instance, the Russian novel about the present day, like the Russian historical-revolutionary novel, and with them the Russian sketch, set a high tone for all our literatures. And in the last 5 years the Russian short story has provided some splendid examples of skill.

Our criticism rightly, in my opinion, writes about the unionwide creative upsurge of the historical novel. The theme of the recent and distant past has acute contemporary resonance when it deals with heroic pages of history, the quest for the paths by which our peoples became part of the multinational fatherland, and the precursors of the present indissoluble fraternal friendship of socialist nations. Such books should be, and usually are, a true school of internationalism for readers, and for the authors themselves. The class-based acuity of vision of the writers of any nationality is here tested, tempered, and honed. This is also a school for acquiring the skill of epic thinking, and that kind of thinking, uniting the movement of the masses and the drama of individuals, characterizes the historical prose of D. Balashov, P. Zabrebelnyy, T. Kaipbergenov, O. Chiladze, I. Quseynov, P. Zeytuntsyan, Yu. Davydov, Ya. Kross, V. Chivilikhin, and A. Yakubov.

As yet it appears more difficult to illuminate our times in the epic-dramatic form, although we find highly valuable and instructive experience in depicting the movement of the times leading to our own historic decades, our own day, in the new books of I. Shamyakin, S. Zalygin, A. Keshokov, V. Belov, M. Ibragimov, V. Adamchik, I. Chobanu, V. Lam, Yu. Nagibin, A. Rekemchuk, A. Borshchagovskiy, S. Khanzadyan, and A. Nurpeisov. This is also the result of collective multinational efforts and the gains of the prose masters of the fraternal literatures.

We are entitled to speak of major gains in the last 5 years in Latvian drama. The vivid colors of Latvian theater and its popularity with audiences are not accidental -- they are "guaranteed" by Latvia's dramatists.

If we now take a "cross-section" of stylistic diversity in relation, for instance, to prose, alongside the Russian examples and Russian creative experience, also worthy of keen attention are the endeavors in the sphere of various styles, ranging from the strict documentary to the utmost fantasy, by Georgian and Ukrainian, Azerbaijani and Moldavian prose writers. And, incidentally, critics in those republics are attentively studying these endeavors.

The same can be said of Lithuanian or Estonian experience. Here diversity of style, as everywhere, has increased considerably, and the conscientious quality of work by Lithuanian and Estonian writers in every stylistic ramification has strengthened their creative prestige.

The choice of problems as themes amounts to far more than a simple reflection of life's material by the writer. It also means, if you like, national and sociocultural tradition and the potential for renewal and progress. It is gratifying, for instance, to note the continuing increase -- to the pleasure and benefit of readers unionwide -- in the artistic use of the subject of the Great Patriotic War in Belorussian literature: in prose, drama, and lyric poetry by war veterans and also by their children and grandchildren. Diversity of psychological types and wealth of stylistic colors, coupled with fierce implacability toward the enemy and harsh antimilitarist exposure of the horrors of war...All these are signs of the new, really up-to-the-minute positions on the topic of the Patriotic War. And also, a warning to our contemporaries: People, be vigilant!

For all our literature the 40th anniversary of the Great Victory is a milestone indicating the way forward and widening the horizons of a theme which is of the utmost diversity in its artistic treatment and which is sacred to us all. The 40th anniversary concentrated, so to speak, on the heightened humanist fervor which so accords with our times. In this respect Belorussian writers have given us model works, such as V. Bykov's remarkable novellas in the heroic-tragic mode, I. Chigrinov's prose of epic breadth, A. Adamovich's philosophical and publicistic prose, P. Panchenko's lyric reminiscences full of grief and pride, or the antiwar works of those born after the victory, such as, for instance, S. Aleksiyevich's documentary books, which have become widely known.

The theme of the people's heroic feat in the Great Patriotic War and the postwar rebuilding of life has resounded loudly in other literatures too. Suffice it to recall A. Ananyev's well known novel "Years Without War" ["Gody Bez Voyny"], the novels of I. Stadnyuk, N. Gorbachev, V. Popov, and O. Smirnov, the novellas of V. Kondratyev, A. Nurshaikhov, S. Baruzdin, V. Subbotin, A. Sakhnin, and Ye. Rzhevskaya, and the blockade tales of O. Shestinskiy.

We can all learn from the experience of the assimilation of so-called production themes, associated with the transformation of life, the formation of the working class, the development of production forces, and the transformation of the very landscapes. I would like to mention the notable contribution to this vast experience by Kazakh, Tajik, Kirghiz, Bashkir, Tatar, Yakut, Chuvash, and Buryat writers. The man who remains in everything the representative of his people and guardian of the national character and traditions is emerging increasingly and profoundly as an internationalist and a figure who values and cherishes the interests of his native land in indissoluble unity with the interests of the entire Soviet country.

In literature as in life, there are pluses and minuses. But it is quite obvious that the best works of all the USSR's fraternal literatures are reflecting increasingly profoundly the qualitatively new processes taking place in the Soviet republics.

I will go on to say a few more things about young writers, but now, without delay, I would like to note that in all the fraternal literatures young writers have begun to emerge and are taking on their shoulders, together with the older generations of literary people, great concerns for the further development of their own literatures. This give us hope and creates a real foundation for our plans for the future.

In ethnography, there is a concept of "minor peoples." In literature there is no such concept, if you take into account more than merely population numbers. The literatures of the numerically small peoples of the North, the Far East, Siberia, the Northern Caucasus, and Dagestan are demonstrating an ever growing creative might. The widely known names of B. Shinkuba, Yu. Rytkheu, A. Abu-Bakar, F. Aliyeva, A. Bokov, I. Mashbash, A. Kymytval, V. Sangi, Yu. Shestalov, G. Khodzher, and B. Ukachin have been joined, in the last 5 years, by many new names. They have already appeared on the reader's horizons, and now much depends on the writers themselves and on our ability to give them prompt support.

It is apposite to recall a very important proposition put forward in the CPSU Central Committee Political Report:

"We are justifiably proud of the achievements of the Soviet multinational socialist culture. Incorporating the wealth of national forms and colors, it is becoming a unique phenomenon in world culture. But it is important to ensure that a healthy interest in everything of value that exists in each national culture does not degenerate into an attempt to isolate ourselves from the objective process of interaction and rapprochement between national cultures. This must also be borne in mind when, in certain works of literature, art and scientific works, attempts are made, in the guise of national identity, to present in idyllic tones reactionary nationalist and religious survivals that are contrary to our ideology, the socialist way of life, and the scientific philosophy."

In this light particularly great significance is attached to our translators, who have proved themselves in many years of work to propagandize the achievements of the fraternal literatures. But here too, many problems have accumulated in the further improvement of translation work. In the near future the USSR Writers Union Board, in conjunction with the organizations concerned, should convene an all-union conference of translators.

II.

Writers and critics are very fond of the word "moral": "moral motives," "moral enthusiasm," the "moral quest." And of course, that is correct. Without this moral searchlight art is robbed of its role as educator, critic, and tribune. Let us remember how persistently A.M. Gorkiy stressed the indivisibility of ethics and aesthetics.

The content of the moral quest of our multinational literature is to establish the morality of the collectivist man, the fighter for communism. The keen exposure and debunking of phenomena diametrically opposed to our morality is a necessary part of literature's educational work. In these cases literature has usually correctly seized on the types and phenomena alien to us.

Here pyschological analysis has acquired new nuances and depths, the accuracy of the writer's observation has not left the least deviation from our ideal in the shadows, and the tone used in depicting negative phenomena has become fundamentally one of uncompromising wrath, not infrequently expressed directly through the author's own voice in the text. That is the case in V. Rasputin's story "The Fire" ["Pozhar"] and V. Astafyev's novel "The Sad Detective" ["Pechalnyy Detektiv"], which met with the warm support of readers and the majority of critics.

In the struggle for a genuinely human morality, against careerism and egotism, drunkenness and bribe-taking, thriftlessness and the cult of material possessions, slander and defamation, and spiritual aridity -- in this difficult struggle the constructive, humanist thrust of Soviet literature is also revealed.

Keen attention toward problems of morality has enabled literature to push back the frontiers in the study of man and his moral qualities and has become, so to speak, all-embracing. It is apposite to note that this fact is evidence of the wealth and multifacted nature of socialist moral principles themselves.

Penetration of the moral sphere has enabled writers to record the new phenomena and new qualities engendered by our reality. We have reproached ourselves a great deal for our inability to illuminate a person's labor as an act enriching his soul and uncovering in him the incalculable sources of creativity which make man a giant in the face of global tasks; and all the same, while rightly reproaching ourselves, we have not been standing still.

For instance, I read G. Nemchenko's novel "A penetrating Wound" ["Pronikayushcheye Raneniye"], which is devoted to the life of young people, its joys and sorrows, and the complex world in which young people live, and I see with what strength of understanding the writer penetrates the young person's innermost expriences, astonishing and pleasing the reader with his ability to pass through a strict moral filter the actions, feelings, and thoughts of the people inhabiting the novel.

Take I. Vasilyev's books. From the very first pages they plunge the reader into the problems of a present-day village and tell him passionately about the resolved, and, especially, the unresolved problems of rural life. His "economic management" ideas will undoubtedly attract -- and indeed have already attracted -- the attention both of the public and of state organizations. But now the writer begins to tell movingly of the rural intelligentsia and the significance of artistic culture for the countryside's development. Then, scrutinizing the general portrait of present-day rural leaders, he perspicaciously recreates the types of people who have taken on difficult and honorable duties. What is the author's main idea in this story, what moves him? His awareness is moved by moral criteria, man's attitude to labor, to the land, to the place where he lives.

In a novel which is, in outward appearance, tranquil and in places elegiac, but is internally full of impatience and conflict -- in D. Granin's novel "The Picture" ["Kartina"], the writer takes history as his moral lens. But here history is used with a special intention -- through the attitude toward history and also toward art as memory made concrete, the writer unfurls a picture of real struggles on the burning issues of today, issues which in a number of places he poses, so to speak, point-blank.

In general the ideas of the past, recent or distant, and the material of life in another time illuminated by the light of the tried and tested criteria of our philosophy, social experience, and the tasks of the time, yield convincing artistic results. This is indicated by the work of M. Shatrov, who, together with the Lenin Kosmomol Theater in Moscow, created a spirited show in the play "Dictatorship of the Conscience" ["Diktatura Sovesti"]. This is also indicated by the experience of the historical plays of Yu. Martsinkyavichyus.

Strict moral criteria also distinguish the plays of other masters of dramatic art: V. Rozov, A. Salynskiy, A. Sofronov, A. Shteyn, M. Roshchin, A. Misharin, A. Dudarev, and A. Kudryavtsev. A. Arbuzov, who is no longer with us, made a tremendous contribution to our dramatic art, devoting his exceptional talent to the struggle for the triumph of socialist morality.

Soviet literature's faith in man is above all faith in his potential and prospect. Here a fund of self-criticism in the consciousness is one of the decisive conditions for man's spiritual growth. In the brilliant poem "The Hunter Killed a Crane" ["Ubil Okhotnik Zhuravlya"], Ye. Isayev was able to uncover in the psychology of an ordinary man, not endowed with any exceptional qualities, the subtlest spiritual changes which are highly instructive for others.

Our moral criteria are striking in their universality. Used skillfully and applied with talent, they light the artist's way in the resolution of the most complex and unique problems. A convincing example here is that of V. Karpov and his story "The Captain" ["Polkovodets"]. Here, on the one hand, a great stratum of the history of the great patriotic war is depicted, and on the other we have a confession, frank and terrible, and concerning a captain whose fortunes are illuminated only from the heights of elapsed years and the critical interpretation of historical events and figures. Purity of moral feeling marks G. Baklanov's novella about people of war and its shining herois, "Forever Nineteen" ["Naveki -- Devyatnadtsatiletniye"], as well as his other novella "The Youngest Brother" ["Menshiy Sredi Bratyev"].

The situations, characters, and style are entirely different in the new works recently translated into russian by the Latvian writer R. Ezera, the Estonian E. Beekman, the Ukrainian Yu. Mushketik, the Armenian V. Petrosyan, the Tajik F. Mukhammadiyev, the Moldavian V. Beshlyage, the Azerbaijani M. Ibragimbekov, and the Belorussian A. Kudravets, but purity, clarity, and specificity of moral feeling unite them all, and not only them, but all soviet writers.

The real dialectic of manifestations of our moral criteria in life and their opposition to phenomena alien to socialist morality are full of boundless opportunities for artistic study. This can be traced particularly instructively in the many years of work by S. Mikhalkov, the writer of comedies. His plays are biting, and always accurately aimed at real enemies. The critical tone which the 27th CPSU Congress set for society clears the way for satire, and in this sphere of literature our moral criteria have received powerful support from the party. For instance, is not the ideological and moral work being done in Georgia receiving help from the biting sociopsychological novels of G. Pandzhikidze or G. Tsitsishvili and the sketches of K. Lordkipanidze and R. Dzhaparidze?

The CPSU Central Committee Political Report to the 27th Party Congress spoke with great concern about the family. You cannot accuse our writers of not devoting attention to the problems of the modern family. But what kind of attention has it been? Has literature always achieved high ideological and artistic results here?

Hundreds of novels, novellas, plays, and poems have been written about unsuccessful love, unfulfilled hopes of family happiness, domestic disharmony, and the weight of true feeling finding itself in the living conditions sometimes of a communal apartment, sometimes of an apartment isolated from neighbors and from life. A great deal has been written about all this.

And if you grew up as one of a large family, and if through the will of fate and circumstance you found yourself with a large family of your own, and moreover have never once been divorced, a nagging doubt begins to beset you, as a reader, under the influence of various works of ours. Is that how you live, have you not become a slave to marriage bonds, have you developed as an individual?

And another question springs to mind: Are not we -- representatives of all branches of art -- directly responsible for everything worrying that happens in the family and domestic sphere? Let us ask ourselves: Do many of our works describe brilliantly, profoundly, and firmly the complexity of the family world, the difficult and responsible duties of a family man, his duty to children, parents, and family tradition? Do we write much about the joys of a strong family? Alas, no. True, there are, happily, works about love and about the family which show that even on this difficult subject area for literature, there is material and there is experience other than the careless and irresponsible. It seems that there are, in life, not only unhappy, shaky unions, not only adulterers, not only divorces and desertions -- there are also happy families, to some extent exemplary, bound together by mutual and unfading love.

Yu. Kuranov has set an example of talented writing on this topic. His novella "The Warmth of the Home Fire" ["Teplo Rodnogo Ochaga"] aroused lively interest among readers.

There is another sphere in which literature is engaged in impassioned study, relying on our moral criteria -- this is literature itself, art itself.

The habits of petit bourgeois individualism, unbridled envy of other people's success, morbid self-importance, and everything else of that kind -- the milieu of the artistic intelligentsia is not guaranteed against all this. Is it any coincidence that so many novels and stories have been written in recent years about artists and movie directors, actors and architects and, of course, writers? Of course it is no coincidence. What lies behind it is an awareness of the increased significance of literature and art in society and an undoubted desire to see them improved.

The critic A. Bocharov quite rightly wrote in PRAVDA about works of this kind: It is not an interest in "peering through keyholes" or a fascination for the mysteries of the "sacred gift" which moves serious writers, but their intense reflections on the place of art "among the workers" and the need to respond to the concerns, dramas, and deeds of the time and to really help people to become better.

How difficult and even, at times, dramatically hard it is for a talented artist to put into practice the demands of moral criteria in the tough conditions in which modern art lives when it bleeds for the urgent problems of the time -- this was described with emotion in Yu. Bondarev's novel "The Game" ["Igra"].

Yu. Bondarev's novel is a story of the dramas of talent, of the tenacity of hackwork and crude efforts in art, of the multifaceted, perfidious nature of these phenomena. People argue about Yu. Bondarev's novel: The author's assessments and conclusions do not seem indisputable to everyone. But perhaps it is this ability to provoke a keen debate which makes the novel "The Game" important to society, and in particular to the creative milieu, which has accumulated many stagnant stereotypes and negative habits. A true debate aimed at seeking out constructive ideas always contains motive power. And the fact that Yu. Bondarev's novel calls for improvements, for the cleaning up of the creative sphere, is, I believe, obvious. And it makes its call loudly and with talent.

The novels and stories of Yu. Trifonov, N. Dumbadze, Yu. Bondarev, Y. Avizhyus, M. Slutskis, A. Ivanov, P. Proskurin, S. Sartakov, P. Kadyrov, V. Amlinskiy, S. Yesin, I. Tarba, V. Makanin, and many other writers recreate the joy and sorrow of people in creative professions and a striking picture of their life in a society which is responsive to everything that shows talent but is also concerned and exacting in relation to their labor and their moral quest. All the same, I would like to give some kind of warning to authors who take up these themes, to warn them against the tendency to artificially overcomplicate matters and to see oneself as "God's chosen ones" which often spoils these heroes drawn from the creative milieu. In many books the specific historical material tends, because of this, to lose its distinct outline and becomes enveloped in a mist of illusions and mysticism. Sometimes there is an unjustified "philosophical justification" of intellectual egotism, the importance of the troubles suffered by the creative workers portrayed takes on an all but universal scale, and their lack of spiritual balance, arising from this or that worldly difficulty, is explained by nothing less than the waning century, technicalism, rationalism, negativism, and so on, and so forth. This approach can hardly bring us closer to the truth or help to reveal it...

The 27th CPSU Congress documents defined our path for many years. With still greater energy than in earlier periods, Soviet society will struggle for a clean, pure moral atmosphere, for a man worthily expressing the principles of communist morality. Having accumulated considerable experience in the cause of educating man in a communist spirit, Soviet multinational literature will continue sensitively and vigilantly to pick up the psychological shifts in people's consciousness and behavior and recreate a truthful picture of our spiritual life.

III.

"The challenge of the time"...In our day it stirs particularly keenly the heart of every honest writer. And in the hours of inner reflection, everyone is tormented by one and the same thing: How best to respond in his own work to the events happening in our country. After mentally running through the most diverse possibilities for your own participation, you naturally turn to the experience of writers of other generations, other times, and even other eras. After all, they too sought to respond to the call of their time.

Life is such that many truths that appear to be beyond dispute and have survived through centuries and decades suddenly rise up anew with as much urgency as if they had just emerged today. The reason for this does not only lie in subjective misconceptions. There are also more important reasons: the extreme complexity of all that happens in the living process of our creative work and in the contradictions and difficulties which permeate the progress of reality itself.

And of course, another factor is the artists' desire to assimilate more rapidly the material of advancing reality and to support his own efforts with what others have lived through and experienced. Here there are various schools and various kinds of experience -- some closer to us and some more remote, some acceptable and some utterly unacceptable to us.

And the experience which we consider acceptable and, indeed, fruitful tells us imperiously: The fullest response to the challenge of the time is possible when the artist comes as close as possible to the image of the positive hero, the image of the man who embodies the best features of the society of his time. Such a man has always existed in his specific historical context, he has passed through every era, and we often regard him as a representative of his time, as evidence of the kind of life which existed, of the struggle of ideological and artistic passions of that time.

From the very first steps of its appearance in the historical arena, the literature of socialist realism uncompromisingly defined its adherence to leading revolutionary ideas and the people who took on their shoulders the great work of putting these ideas into practice.

The heroes of a number of works of the 1980's trace their descent directly from Pavel Vlasov [character in Gorkiy's "Mother" ("Mat")], who proclaimed to the world that Russia's working class is taking the country's fate into its own mighty hands. We can recapture the entire history of revolutionary transformation through the names of literary heroes: Kozhukh and Chapayev, Levinson and Chumalov, Davydov and Vikhrov, Olek Koshevoy and Kirill Izvekoa, Terkin and Serpilin -- and in our own day: F. Abramov's Mikhail Pryaslin, Ch. Aytmatov's Yedigey Burannyy, V. Bykov's Stepanida...

Very recently, Soviet multinational literature has done much work on recreating the image of the leading man of our motherland. Writers have had great successes along this path, there are heroes their books who have attracted the readers' attention and who have a beneficial influence on them. Perhaps the most remarkable thing here is that literature has discovered and studied the hero of our day over a wide field of life, against a broad background of life's creative process. Each national literature, according to its forces and historical experience, has reflected in its books the feat of the people of the eighties. These are people of all kind of professions, ages, and social groups. The labor feat appears in literature as the cause of the many, a phenomenon springing from the soil of the masses movement and born of the profoundest springs of the people's initiative. "Land, this is your son; people, this is your son" -- that is our viewpoint on the positive hero.

All the same, today we have to admit that in the generalized-individualized portrayal of our hero we have not yet achieved the clarity and expressiveness which Soviet writers of earlier generations were able to achieve.

It would be simplistic to explain this solely in terms of the weakness of talent of present-day writers. Let me say without any fear: Our literature is exceptionally full of talent.

Then what is the reason for the lack of positive literary heroes equal in vividness, depth, and breadth of personality to the classical Soviet heroes?

Reasons exist, although it is possible to debate the degree of influence which each factor exerts on literary practice.

First and foremost there is the writer's own inadequate knowledge of his hero, the under-researching, so to speak, of the hero in concrete circumstances, a weak philosophical armory, and also the writer's lack of the necessary conviction that the scale of his hero's actions must be equivalent to a historical feat. Hence the restricted choice of means of depiction, a certain shakiness in the approach to possible artistic solutions, a yielding to the prejudices which exist in the literary milieu.

Unfortunately a good deal of confusion has been introduced into the problem of the positive hero. After experiencing at one time a period of what was known as the "varnishing of reality," that was rightly condemned for its historical, ideological, and artistic bankruptcy, some of our comrades swung in the other direction. They began to call into question the classical concept of the positive hero in art, which, they said, leads to the portrayal of only the positive, only the exceptional, thus encroaching on the truth and critical spirit of literature. Other definitions began to appear in articles and speeches: the "good man," the "man with a soul," the "intellectual man," and so forth. This could not but have a negative effect on the artist, on his consciousness and day-to-day practice. The idea became fairly widespread that talent can really develop only if it encounters negative material and recreates negative types. Positive material, it is claimed, fetters the artist, impoverishes his palette, and bureaucratizes man.

At the last, 7th USSR Witers' Congress in 1981, these tendencies were the subject of a sharply negative assessment, but we have not yet eradicated them either in theory or in the artistic process.

And there is a reason for that too. It is well known that the literary process takes in a multiplicity of phenomena. These phenomena do not exist in isolation, they constantly interact, forming new thematic and new stylistic currents, now fitting in with the urgent issues of the moment, now taking the form of a response to readers' needs.

And unfortunately, not infrequently mediocrity and dullness prove exceptionally tenacious within this current, at times crowding out talented works. In the literature of recent years the number of books failing to meet ideological and artistic demands has also continued to increase. In a number of works of literature, the cinema, and the theater, the main place has been assigned to the portrayal of a person of petty standpoints and interests who is bogged down in selfish concerns about his own well-bing, a person lacking the qualities which characterize Soviet people -- collectivism, love for the motherland, the willingness to accomplish labor and exploits for the sake of the triumph of communist ideas. A characteristic feature of such works is the lessening of exactingness toward man and the tendency to rummage around among the contracictions of a petty soul.

M. Alekseyev, a writer of great experience and sensitivity to life, rightly noted in a PRAVDA article about literary people of this kind: They acknowledge the truth, with some reservations, only if a work is full of plentiful shortcomings, and they refuse to acknowledge the truth when it is a question of our achievements and victories. This is food for thought! Indeed, you cannot create a genuine image of our contemporary life without recreating the whole truth.

"But truth is not an abstract concept, it is concrete," the CPSU Central Committee Political Report to the 27th party congress says. "It lies in the people's achievements and the contradictions of society's development, in the heroism and ordinariness of working days, in victories and failures, that is, in life itself, in all its multiplicity, drama, and magnitude.

Only literature -- ideological, artistic literature, literature of the people -- educates people to be honest, strong in spirit, and capable of taking on the burden of their time."

Armed with the party's wise instructions and advice, our writers must create brilliant new works depicting the image of the hero of our time in the full scope of his actions, in his epochal magnitude. He has earned it.

Today's literary man cannot but be inspired by the image of the party person, the communist, who not only looks forward, but marches forward, who is active, enterprising, and authoritative among the masses.

Even now, after withdrawing to a respectful distance, we look with amazement on the 19th century, which brought worldwide fame ot our fatherland's literature and art. And everyone knows that this fame rose along the whole literary front, as we would say today: novel and novella, short story and sketch, long poem and lyric verse, drama and comedy, critical article and fundamental research, topical article on the most burning issue of the day and the philosophical essay -- in all genres, types, and forms, literature revealed itself with great civic force and aesthetic maturity.

Soviet literature has inherited not only front-ranking traditions of social sensitivity, true national character, and patriotism, but also the colossal artistic experience of masters acknowledged by mankind.

As in the prerevolutionary years, today Soviet writers value highly the classical legacy of our literatures, try to learn their teachers' lessions, and use them as a basis on which to advance toward new artistic discoveries.

Wealth of genres and diversing of styles -- these are the most important proofs of the vitality of literature and its potential. The traditions of M. Gorkiy, M. Sholokhov, A. Tolstoy, A. Fadeyev, L. Leonov, K. Fedin, N. Tikhonov, A. Tvardovskiy, V. Katayev, L. Sobolev, A. Lakhuti, M. Auezov, B. Kerbabayev, P. Tychina, M. Rylskiy, Ya. Kupala, Ya. Kolas, Ya. Raynis, A. Upit, L. Kiacheli, A. Isaakyan, Ye. Charents, S. Vurgun, S. Ayni, Khamza -- there traditions and their lessons have not receded into the past.

Let us say frankly, the years which we are discussing today present, in terms of the development of genre and style, a picture which is both impressive and encouraging, although at the same time they pose new problems too.

We note with satisfaction that the last 5 years in literature have enriched the diversity of styles and researches in the area of form which characterize the art of socialist realism in principle. Here it is necessary to note the stepping up of the current affairs content of prose, poetry, and plays and the topical ideological content not only of works about the present, but also those about the past, both the recent and the distant past. It is significant that a realistic foundation prevailed in all the diversity of these guests, although it was not alone. Various conventional forms and styles were also present -- parables, the metaphorical, the "neomythological," various assumptions, games of imagination, tuning the reader in to unaccustomed rules of perception, and so forth.

All this is noted by our analysts, who have to deal with the diversity of current literary experience. Let us neither minimize nor exaggerate the significance of the existence of diversity of style, let us look on certain stylistic quests as an attempt on the part of certain comrades to exercise their muscles with different weights. But at the same time let us remember: We are realists, whose method -- I wish to emphasize this -- also covers the stylistic forms mentioned above. We are socialist realists, we see the world in the process of revolutionary change. And it is important for this acknowledged principle of the revolutionary development of the world to be ever present in our consciousness and in our hearts.

Ever present -- both when we write simply and accessibly and when phantasmagorical and other forms force their way into our creative work as an inevitability dictated by the concern to convey this or that image to the reader.

The diversity of realism? Yes, we are in favor of that. Tough enough conditions, you would think, are imposed on the writer, the author of a contemporary political novel, by the demands of this strict branch of novel-writing, yet even in this spere of artistic prose, with its very strong, publicistic, antimilitarist leitmotiv, room has been round for elements of the fantastic. For instance, remember the novels "The Ancient Sign" ["Drevniy Znak"] by N. Shundik, "The Thunderers" ["Gromoverzhtsy"] by V. Stepanov, "Disaster" ["Katastrofa"] by E. Stobelev, and "Night Pilots" ["Nochnyye Letchiki"] and "The Year of the Donkey" ["God Osla"] by V. Beekman.

Fantastic assumptions certainly strengthened the moral vigor of such works as N. Yevdokimov's novella "An Incident in the Life of Vladimir Vasilyevich Makhonin" ["Proisshestviye iz Zhizni Vladimira Vasilyevicha Makhonina"], or the prose of the Georgian G. Dochanashvili and the Kazakh O. Bokeyav. Let us note, too, that fantasy, hyperbole, and the admission of the improbable are combined, in our literature, with satirical objectives and with comic intonations, as is indicated, for instance, by V. Krupin's "Living Water" ["Zhivaya Voda"] and many works by Estonian writers.

We are, I repeat, Realists. It must be understood that the portrayal can be diverse, it can even be highly improbable, but the historical, social truth of character must be clear. That is the first thing. The second thing is that we must always understand the logic of the organization and the development of historical and social circumstances and not put forward abstract, extratemporal principles in the place of established sociohistorical criteria. Some critics rightly noted that Anatoliy Kim's novel "The Squirrel" ["Belka"] is on very shaky ground in this respect.

A. Kim bases the subject of this work on endless transmutations of various people into various animals and vice versa. All this is probably permissible in the writer's chosen style. The flow of "The Squirrel" lies elsewhere: in the extratemporal concept of evil, narromindedness, and egotism.

We live in a difficult, but interesting time full of struggle. The forms of social existence and awareness, man in his concrete historical conditions of labor and existence, the difficulties and contradictions of our socioeconomic development -- all this determines the content of literature, its thrust, and at the same time invisibly dictates to literature the uniqueness of its styles and the forms of the artistic quest. To speak in theoretical terms about this quest, it takes place in two directions. On the one hand, writers seek great generalizations of the material of the age in its most significant manifestations. And on the other, writers want, so to speak, to reduce the distance between the event and literature, to place them in close, direct contact.

We have achieved remarkable results along these paths, results notable for their talent and civic boldness, and, most importantly, in all genres. It is impossible to enumerate even the best of them, and I will therefore mention a few names from genres which are, so to speak, at opposite poles, in order to illustrate the idea more vividly: the poems and verses of R. Gamzatov, E. Mezhelaytis, Ye. Yevtushenko, A. Dementyev, D. Kugultinov, and A. Chepurov, and the sketches of A. Kalinin, Yu Chernichenko, V. Palman, S. Vikulov, Yu Gribov, Yu Galkin, A. Salutskiy, V. Peskov, Ye. Gudinas, and others. This "polarity" is sometimes combined in a surprising way in the work of one and the same author -- for instance, in the poems and sketches of I. Ziyedonis or the prose and drama of Mustay Karim.

The time has come to stress that young writers have made a substantial contribution to the diversity of genre and style in Soviet multinational literature. The older ones among them as well as the very young ones, the very latest recruits. Original works, warmly greeted by readers, have been produced by V. Khayryuzov, A. Buylov, Yu. Sergeyev, and P. Krasnov.

Very recently -- for me, at least -- one or two of our congresses ago, we counted among the young writers R. Kireyev, A. Kurchatkin, Yu. Borodkin, V. Drozd, V. Yavorivskiy, A. Saakyan, V. Lichutin, Yu. Antropov, R. Fayzullin, V. Shugayev, A. Aripov, S. Sanbayev, V. Mitypov, and many more. But now we cannot imagine our literature without these names: The picture would not be complete.

It is evidently necessary to examine in greater depth how work is proceeding on strengthening the young writer's philosophical grounding.

At the 27th CPSU Congress demands on art were put forward in the broadest terms. Society expects artistic revelations. There is no need to prove that such revelations are possible only with talent and given the broadest possible outlook and firm Marxist-Leninist positions.

At the same time it must be admitted that in some places an attitude of unconcern toward philosophical questions is current among young people. People say: They passed through school, they graduated from the institute... The organization of political education for creative cadres is unfortunately far from perfect. There is plenty of scope here for work by our party organizations.

Creative young people must be persuaded that the supreme social asset is not simply a natural gift. Decisive significance is attached to the social orientation of talent, its ability to meet the demands of the age. That the complexity of processes in the modern socialist society, the intensity of the political and ideological confrontation between socialism and capitalism, the global problems of today, the vast historical changes taking place in the world -- all this requires a large-scale way of thinking based on social class principles.

Let us give due credit to another genre -- publicistic writing. Everyone, I suppose, will agree that we are living through a time of a great upsurge in publicistic writing, a strengthening of its effectiveness, and increased activeness by writers in the press and other mass media. The social basis for this upsurge is clear: the development of socialist democracy, the need for renewal in all spheres of life, the development of openness. The press is a mighty weapon for the party. It is a mighty force for cultivating a literature characterized by civic activeness.

Our writers have never come forward so often and so much in the newspapers and journals and on radio and television, with such a wide range of publicistic articles, pamphlets, sketches, and essays. It may be said that such work by writers writing in PRAVDA, IZVESTIYA, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, TRUD, SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, and republican publications -- such work by writers helps the party in the direct implementation of measures to accelerate the country's socioeconomic development. Writers touch on the most diverse topics. Ecology, agronomy, education, morality, aesthetics, urban development, international politics and economics -- in short, life in all its manifestations.

The development of the publicistic and other types and genres of literature, the development of ideologically rich forms in prose, poetry, and drama, the widening experience of publicistic criticism or of the publicistic approach in critical writing -- all these are phenomena which are unfortunately not yet universal, although this universality has never before been so necessary.

We rate highly the stimulating role of our literary press, but let us note once again that by no means every one of our journals or newspapers can boast of presenting in its pages problems of genre, form, or style, although you would think that we have writers and critics everywhere who are not indifferent to this...

The picture of endeavors in the field of genre and style would be incomplete if we did not touch on another sphere of our literature -- literature for children and young people. As is known, all the best creations of literature belong to this audience of many millions of readers. A significant proportion of books have been addressed to all ages.

The works of S. Mikhalkov, A. Aleskin, M. prilezhayeva, V. Krapivin, I. Tokmakova, A. Likhanov, V. Zheleznikov, A. Kuleshov, O. Ivanenko, M. Mirshakar, K. Tangrykuliyev, and many others are permeated by the quest for relevance in forms accessible to young people and by far-reaching artistic solutions. A. Aleksin's novella "Signallers and Buglers" ["Signalshchiki i Gornisty"], which is devoted to noble deeds by adolescents, may, I hope, be regarded as a precursor of more new works of literature about pioneers and Komsomol members at school. School life, in particular the life of a vocational and technical school, against the background of the current educational reform is still a topic awaiting passionate artists to study it. Here we owe the young generation much.

All genres must develop more actively and boldly in children's and young people's literature, and I think young writers could have a decisive say here. Numerically, there are many of them. Seminars held by the Writers Union on the genres of prose, poetry, and drama bring together many dozens of them. But their voice often sounds muffled. Most likely this is not their fault. It has been observed that our literary press writes least of all about those who work in children's and young people's literature. And this situation can no longer be tolerated!

And comrades, should we not think about holding a unique Year of the School, using the efforts of literary and artistic workers? It would be really remarkable! We would all go to the schools and vocational and technical schools and write new book plays, songs, and perhaps, textbooks for children and about children. In collaboration with other artists, we would introduce highly resonant art into the classes and schoolrooms. This would be a real contribution to the cause of fulfilling the 27th CPSU Congress decisions about the communist education of the young generation.

If you agree, let us ask the Komsomol Central Committee to gather together representatives of all the creative unions around a table to draw up a plan for a Year of the School, so as to carry it out with inspiration.

The party Central Committee Political Report to the 27th congress spoke with exhaustive clarity about the shortcomings of literary-artistic criticism and its tasks and place in our spiritual life. It was rightly said that it is time for literary-artisitc criticism to shake off complacency and deference to rank, which erode sound morality, remembering that criticism is a public matter, not a sphere of service for authors' self-esteem and arrogance.

We must agree with such demands. After all, it is no secret that certain writers themselves organize reviews of their books. But a really critical article only has to appear somewhere or other for its author to be subjected to all kinds of accusations.

Complimentary, compliant criticism is lavish with excessively high evaluations, and thereby distorts the true picture of the development of literature and art and the potential of the individual artist.

To criticize directly, without respect of persons, the shortcomings even in the works of prestigious authors and to find what is successful and promising in their work is to show concern for the artist's talent and his development, and perhaps to protect him against repeating his mistakes.

Soviet literary-artistic criticism has always been strong by virtue of its implacability toward manifestations of philosophical electicism and ideological approximations or inaccuracy. This tradition is successfully continued by many of our press organs.

However, it can happen that the fundamental principles of literary-artistic assessment recede, so to speak, into the background, or are even forgotten entirely. Then we encounter a phenomenon which is strange and unnatural for us, when a particualr critic actively extols a work of a dubious ideological nature, praises the artist's departure from clear class positions as "boldness" and "uninhibitedness," passes off an attempt to bypass the acute social problems of today as a penetration of the sphere of "eternal moral imperatives" and "immutable human truths," and so forth.

Criticism's most important task is to promote the strengthening and expansion of the links between literature and art and life and to support the desire to creative workers to live by the people's interests.

An urgent task of criticism is to struggle not only against the ideological imperfection of particular works, but against shoddy artistic work, which compromises Soviet art. This task can only be successfully resolved by criticism which is itself marked by a high professional standard and an unprejudiced, principled approach. Does it mean these demands in full? Not always.

As the propagandist of Soviet literature and at the same time the pilot guiding us through it expanses, criticism is called upon effectively to help the masses to understand and master profoundly and comprehensively the assets of culture. One not infrequently encounters reviews from which it is impossible to tell whether the book is good or bad, and if it is good or bad, precisely in what way.

Our critics write eagerly about brilliant, significant works of literature which arouse great interest in society and among readers, and that is quite right. Individual unsuccessful works or downright potboilers came under critical "fire." But between these two poles there is still a large proportion of the literary flow which the critics write about unjustifiably little, or not at all. Sometimes this affects whole thematic strata and genres, such as science fiction, adventure literature, and detective stories, which have a mass readership and -- especially important -- a young readership. Criticism in the capital does not exactly lavish attention on masters of culture and art who live on the periphery.

It is quite natural that in speaking of the state of literary-artistic criticism and its tasks we address ourselves first of all to the critics themselves, the experts in literature and art -- those for whom the analysis and evaluation of the artistic process is a first-hand, direct duty, a profession. But we must not forget the important and often decisive role played in all this activity by press organs, the leadership of newspapers and journals, and their chief editors personally. After all, very often the subject of a critic's attention as well as his standpoint and even his style depend directly on the positions, preferences, and taste of the editor. And if critical distortions of some kind or manifestations of subjectivism or group partialities are perceptible in a particular press organ, the responsibility rests not only and perhaps not chiefly with the critics, but with the editors and editorial collegiums of the publications.

Much also depends on the training of critics. We have many experienced, highly educated masters of the genre. For criticism to be able to function with proper effectiveness, it needs a constant influx of fresh talent. This question must be tackled by creative VUZ's and scientific institutions effectively and with a greater sense of responsibility than hitherto.

People often ask: Why do critics go off and engage in the study of literature, why do they go to academic institutes, why do they not devote themselves wholly and entirely to current critical work? The explanation is not all that complicated. Because things are better in literary studies. There, you get high salaries, creative days, scientific degrees, publications of scientific works. Is all this justified? To a considerable degree, yes. Our cadres in literary studies are stable. The publication of works in literary studies follows a stricter path. The prestige of the work of the student of literature is high.

How can a more stable situation be created for critics? First of all, we must remedy the critics' material and legal position.

In this connection, there would be some sense in establishing posts on all the Writers' Union journals for staff commentators, who would be part of the editorial collegiums. This step will bring the press organs closer to the critics' creative endeavors and link them more closely to the topical problems of the current literary process. Commentators should certainly be given the place they deserve in radio and television. Criticism would be helped considerably by the inclusion of commentators on the staff of republican newspapers and the newspapers of the biggest krays and oblasts.

There is another substantial reserve for improving this matter -- that of bringing scientific research forces back into the current literary process. Our country has dozens of literature and language institutes and faculties at universities and teacher training VUZes. Many well trained scientific workers accustomed to Marxist-Leninist methodology work there . Why should they not take part in elevating criticism to the level which society needs?

I also consider it necessary to report to the congress on the measures outlined in escalating the role of the A.M. Gorkiy Institute of Literature in training critic cadres. The secretariat of the USSR Writers' Union board has decided to put proposals to the USSR Council of Ministers on transforming it from an educational institute into an educational and scientific research institute with the creation of a faculty of criticism and postgraduate courses for training critics, and on expanding the faculty of creative work by setting up new critical seminars. The groundwork will also be established at the institute for courses through which critics, above all young critics, will be able systematically to improve their qualifications.

Through all literature, all of us must help literary criticism to reach the front line of the struggle.

The readers' firm interest in Soviet literature and all its genres and the good tradition of close contact between writer and reader enable us to put forth some ideas on deepening these contacts and using them, more effectively in our mutual interests.

When we speak of the writer and the reader, a third party inevitably arises in this intercourse, without whom this noble Union cannot be complete -- I am talking about the editor.

It is an indisputable fact: Books are published for reading and the main consumer is the reader.

Is this principle always implemented as it should be? Does it have the significance of a decisive factor, or is it taken into account "to some extent" and "as far as possible"? Nobody is likely to claim that everything is clear in this sphere and that no problems exist.

To begin with, the study of the readers' interest is poorly organized, not only on a countrywide basis, but even within individual regions. There is no unified system for this. However, to be fair, I will note that attempts are being made. The V.I. Lenin State Library regularly publishes its important summarizations of readers' interests. But, first, the Lenin Library's information is little known. It is published only in special publications intended mainly for library workers. Second, this information is primarily based on figures from libraries, and, of course, not all libraries, but only some of them, on the basis of sampling. Finally, this information does not include an important indicator, the work of the book trade network.

Thus, in essence, we have no accurate accounting of the readers' interests. The matter is not at all organized. If it has not yet caused serious difficulties, this is only because of the shortage of books, the lack of a real choice, and the ensuing confidence of publishers and writers that any book will find a consumer in our country.

But, very recently, in a number of big cities, a surplus of poetic and other literature -- a relative surplus, of course, but still a surplus -- has developed, and warnings are coming in from everywhere: "The book boom is over! Books are piling up on the store shelves!"

In some places, because of the increase in print runs of prose works and the improvement in library services to readers as well as the development of readers' tastes and requirements, the purchase of books of all genres has fallen.

Some publishing houses are already talking about having to reduce the production of books, cut print runs, and adopt other organizational measures. Concern must be caused by the reduction in the output of artistic literature at the Molodaya Gvardiya and Khudozhestvennaya Literature Publishing Houses.

Yet the USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade, publishing houses, journal and newspaper editorial offices, and the USSR Writers' Union receive a huge number of letters which point with great urgency to an intolerable situation: In the stores, for years it has been impossible to buy the best known books by Soviet writers. All this doubtless requires an attentive approach, since forgetting or even underestimating readers' demand is fraught with undesirable consequences.

I think the time has come to include writers too in the system of material incentives which for some reason is applied at present only to publishing and printing workers. A rather strange situation arises: the main item in the production process of a publishing house is the book, and the writer is its creator. Yet when it comes to material incentives, everyone except the author of the work is involved. This alienation of the writer from participation in the production process -- up to the end result -- cannot be considered just.

Moreover, as is well known, at the present the writer receives his reward according to the pages and lines written, regardless of how well his work sells and whether it is popular with readers. It seems to us that the involvement of the writer in a more active struggle for the prompt publication and high quality of the book, as is dictated in our time by the interests of the socialist society, could yield additional reserve in this important work and emphasize the significance of the writer's individuality.

Comrades! Mankind is now living through an exceptionally dangerous and therefore especially crucial period in his history.

V.I. Lenin noted that imperialism, in order to achieve its goals, does not count the sacrifices or shrink from any means, and is capable of the utmost savagery. There have been many examples of this in history. But what is happening in our time surpasses the gloomiest imaginings. Through the fault of the U.S. ruling circles, a real danger of thermonuclear disaster has arisen.

On 15 January of this year M.S. Gorbachev set forth in a statement which was disseminated all over the world an integral, honest program for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons by the end of the 20th century. The 27th CPSU Congress confirmed this program, which is of historic significance.

What about the U.S. Administration? Cynically and in flagrant defiance of all peace-loving forces, it continues to step up its efforts to carry out total nuclear armament, including the utilization of space in the interests of war.

Throughout the ages people have regarded joy in another's misfortune as the utmost disgrace. The U.S. Administration's shameful behavior at the time of the Chernobyl accident exposed with new force the immorality of those who was even that as a pretext for sowing new seeds of distrust and suspicion toward the socialist countries and erecting new barriers in the path to nuclear disarmament.

Today we cannot talk about the literary process without taking into account the "challenge of the time" to which our literature must respond in the light of the events taking place in the world arena, without taking into account how closely every person's life is linked to international problems.

Soviet literature took up the challenge, clearly recognized its lofty duty, and strove to fulfill it. Our ideological opponents, well versed in slander, are prepared even here to accuse us of following in the wake of state policy. Yes, the foreign policy course of our party and government is the course of all Soviet people. In all the years of the Soviet era, including the most recent years, not a single book -- to be more precise, not a single line of writing -- has appeared in our country preaching war, violence, misanthropy, and chauvinism as ways of resolving the problems posed by the historical progress of the modern world. And if certain bourgeois ideologists and certain literary people seek to fix in the minds of millions of people an image of the Soviet Union as "aggressor," our literature exposes this lie.

The experience of the development of public life, literature, and art in the 20th century shows that a certain level of politicization always exists, but that it is accelerated particularly at times of stormy social upheavals and on the crest of major turning points in history. It is well known what a highly remarkable artistic stratum was created in world literature by the works called to life by World War I, the Great October Socialist Revolution, the prewar thirties, and the great battles of World War II against German fascism and Japanese militarism.

The end of the seventies and the first half of the eighties were marked by the appearance of a whole series of artistic, artistic-publicistic, and artistic-documentary works by Soviet writers in which theme and form are based on the direct depiction of the confrontation which has taken shape in the world between the forces of socialism and capitalism and the struggle of CPSU and the Soviet state, the socialist countries, and the fraternal parties for peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems, social progress, and international solidarity in that struggle. We are in favor of dialogue and the coalition of all democratic, antimilitarist forces.

The Soviet political novel today, in particular the novel on an international theme, continues the humanist tradition and at the same time represents a current specific to the literature of our time. It is important to note that this current has found expression in all genres. I will mention just a few works: A. Chakovskiy's novels "Victory" ["Pobeda"] and "An Unfinished Portrait" ["Neokonchennyy Portret"], A. Prokhanov's novels about Afghanistan, Camobida, Latin America, and Africa, V. Korotich's novel "The Face of Hatred" ["Litso Nenavisti"], G. Borovik's essay-novel "The Prologue" ["Prolog"], G. Gonchar's novel "Your Dawn" ["Tvoya Zarya"], the stories about Afghanistan by K. Selikhov and A. Mukhtar, the sketches of V. Ovchinnikov and A. Laurinchyukas, the books of Yu. Zhukov and T. Solodar, Ye. Yevtushenko's poem "Fuku!", the books of verses and long poems by I. Shklyarevskiy, Ye. Dolmatovskiy, B. Oleynik, P. Botsu, N. Khazri, Maksim Tank, R. Rozhdestvenskiy, A. Voznesenskiy, M. Hudin, G. Emin, O. Suleymenov, M. Kanoat, and Yu. Drunina, the pamphlets of N. Gribachev, A. Krivitskiy, S. Kondrashov, and M. Sturua, V. Ardamatskiy's story "A Tourist Trip to England" ["Turistskaya Poyezdka v Angliyu"], and the novels of M. Domogatskikh, Y. Semenov, Ye. Parnov, and A. Timonen.

In comparison with postwar literature on international topics, the portrayal of the international assistance given by Soviet people to the peoples of developing countries in the most diverse spheres of their life is completely new. Works are beginning to appear which describe the fulfillment by the Soviet Armed Forces of their military and international duty abroad and the vigil maintained by Soviet airmen, seamen, and submariners far beyond the motherland.

International solidarity has always been a tremendous force in the struggle for social progress. With the present movement for nuclear disarmament, it could grow into a force representing the solidarity of all mankind on the noble ground of the struggle for peace. Imperialism realizes where that could lead, and therefore seeks in every way to undermine any attempts by people to activate the forms of the defense of peace.

In this respect the public "argument" constantly used by aggressive imperialist forces in favor of the arms race, the position of strength policy, and the organization of a "crusade" against socialism, even going so far as to justify preparations for a nuclear strike, is the notorious Soviet threat story. Numerous ideological means are used to maintain and promote this false story and insinuate it into the consciousness of as many people as possible, and that arsenal includes literature. That is why today, we openly and directly accuse those reactionary literary figures in the West who extol war, cultivate base instincts, and urge man to choose unworthy, vile paths of existence.

Soviet people's weighty contribution to the cause of the defense of peace and the strengthening of the resonance of the international theme in modern Soviet literature has been greatly promoted by the links between the USSR Writers' Union and foreign literary organizations and many progressive masters of the art. We maintain such ties with literary people in more than 100 countries, and constantly strive to extend them.

Our interest in cooperation is dictated by our awareness that literature is a sphere of spiritual life which by its humanist nature needs broad contacts between nations. Soviet writers have always taken a keen interest in the artistic experience of other literatures, be they literatures with centuries of experience or the young literatures of peoples who have embarked on the path of political and cultural rebirth. I will note in passing that our classical writers were notable for an equally ardent interest in the literary figures of Europe, Asia, and America.

Without setting our own experience up against anyone else's or imposing it on anyone, we have a moral right to share with foreign artists, including artists of other schools and predilections, our experience and our own predilections. In so doing we do not impose on anyone our tried and tested creative method -- socialist realism. And it cannot be imposed: Socialist realism, like every creative method, grows out of the historical soil of a particular culture. Socialist realism exists and develops today not only in our country. As serious scientific research has demonstrated, it is a phenomenon of world culture, sometimes defined abroad by other terms.

Unfortunately, the prejudiced attitude toward Soviet literature which is stirred by anti-Sovietism penetrates the top strata of the administration in certain states, and this hampers and often rules out literary contacts.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev was profoundly correct in stressing repeatedly in his conversations with foreign politicians and journalists that a new era requires a new way of thinking in world politics. That means mutual understanding, consideration of the real role, responsibility, and potential of the USSR and the United States, respect for the sovereignty and legitimate interests of all countries and peoples, and the exclusion of strong-arm pressure and threats from international relations.

As you can see, the "challenge of the time," addressed to us writers, not only applies to our creative work, but also appeals to our public behavior and calls on us to participate personally in actions reflecting the peoples' aspirations. The poet did not say in vain: "The word is the captain of human strength." This word must promote prosperity, happiness, and creativity, rather than poisoning the pure soil of contact and cooperation among peoples.

Today I would like to mention the effective work of the Association meetings. Executive committee and secretariat sessions have always made a good impression on public opinion, supported the initiative of individual masters and national organizations, and promoted writers' participation in the struggle against imperialism, Zionism, and racism and for freedom, independence, and the solidarity of peoples against American-Israeli aggression in the Near East. The movement is approaching its next conference, which is to be held in Delhi in 1987. The USSR Writers' Union will continue, as always, to participate actively in the association of Asian and African writers and strengthen ties with literary people on those continents.

The writers' meetings in Sofia under the slogan "Peace -- Hope and the Planet" are highly constructive; they are the scene of meaningful, frank discussion of the writer's responsibility for the future of the world and his place in the struggle for peace. The next Sofia meeting will be held this fall.

During the period under review the international contacts of the USSR Writers' Union have included events which should be particularly mentioned because of their great significance. Our contacts with Latin American writers have become broader. After a long break, contacts have been restored with writers in China.

Comrades! The CPSU Central Committee Political Report to the 27th party congress, the congress' historic decisions, and the constructive spirit of our life make it incumbent on us to look at many questions in a new way. We have indisputably done much in the sphere of international literary ties. But the course of events, the irresistible attraction of the Soviet state's major initiatives, and the need to respond promptly and fully to the burning needs of the foreign public, including the literary public, make it incumbent on us to extend creative ties, both individual and collective, more energetically, and to persistently seek new forms of intercourse with foreign literary figures.

In this respect there is a need for a restructuring of the work of the USSR Writers' Union Foreign Commission. All writers' organizations must resolutely renounce stereotypes and the habit of conducting matters by bureaucratic methods. Social forms must be utilized more fully.

Writers' commissions should be creating on the literatures of individual countries and regions, taking account of the fact that both in Moscow and in the republics there has been an increase in the number of literary figures who know and study particular foreign countries' literatures. It would be a good idea to make use in this respect of the experience of our social councils on the literatures of the peoples of the USSR. We must be bolder in extending the frameworks of meetings with foreign literary figures and bring in more writers from the republics and creative young people.

As before, a subject of special concern should be translations of foreign writers' works into the languages of the USSR's peoples and translations of our books into foreign languages. With the help of the All-Union Agency for Authors' Rights and certain components of the State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade, some improvements have been made.

The quality of translations has improved on the whole. The selection of works suitable for translation has become stricter. At the same time, it is necessary to utilize every method and opportunity to ensure that works which have won recognition among us find their way to the foreign reader and that he receives a true impression of the real artistic standard of our literature.

Comrades! The era in which we live and the concern for preserving our common home -- the earth -- are bringing the peoples ever closer together. Whether the imperialists like it or not, it is so. The struggle for peace and the removal of the thermonuclear threat -- and peace-loving mankind will somehow achieve it -- will create and is already creating new reserves for joint creative efforts by the peoples, including efforts in the sphere of cultural exchange. World humanist literature does a great deal to promote this; it has served and continues to serve this great cause. And therefore the more active, multifaceted, and talented the work of Soviet multinational literature in all the manifestations and forms of international cultural life, the more powerful its international influence will be and the more tangible its contribution to the common cause of our people and party in ensuring lasting peace and stable cooperation among the planet's peoples. It is from these standpoints that we see our participation in world literary life; it is from this angle that we view our international duty.

Comrades! I am coming to the end of my report.

High party exactingness is the most important motive force in multinational Soviet literature. The innovative ideas expressed from the 27th CPSU Congress platform inspired writers and opened up broad horizons for their bold artistic quest. Today we have in our armory the wealth of the party program, the Central Committee Political Report, and other congress documents. Happy is the artist of the word to whom it will be given to express our time, the time of a crucial turning point in history!

He who has linked his fate with literature now has no right to work at half strength. Every day our artistic thought and conscience show us the concrete locations of glorious new deeds and suggest the names of new heroes. We must feel in our hearts and souls that these are the pointers to tomorrow, a reminder to us of the social instructions given to literature by our time -- a time of renewal and radical changes in all spheres of life.

The scale of the task facing literary workers requires an all-around improvement in the activity of our creative union. It is necessary resolutely to eradicate inertia and bureaucratic approaches to the living cause of literature. The Writers' Union is called upon to serve as a school of high communist citizenship for all literary figures, a school for raising worthy recruits to the ranks of masters of Soviet literature.

At the party's call, our country has risen up for a great campaign. Soviet people, the creators of all that exists, ardent patriots of the motherland, expect of us writers not ingenious illustrations, but inspired artistic revelations, the truth of life in the name of the execution of the party's intentions. Only by adhereing to positions of party principles and high mutual exactingness and sharing his joys and sorrows with his people can every one of us justify his duty as a Soviet writer.

On behalf of all the congress delegates, in the name of all the country's writers, permit me to assure the Leninist CPSU Central Committee that writers, supporting unreservedly, wholly, and fully the party's course, ideas, and plans, will do everything to to create new works worthy of our time!

EDITORIAL ON ECONOMICAL USE OF FUEL, ENERGY

PM080903 [Editorial report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 June second edition front-pages a 1,200-word editorial under the heading "Using Fuel and Energy Thriftly." Noting the importance of early preparations for the winter, the editorial says:

"One of the most important tasks is to ensure the fulfillment of the targets set and the socialist pledges adopted by labor collectives for the extraction and production of fuel and energy resources. There have been positive developments in the work of sectors in this complex. The gas and coal industry are coping with plan targets and oilmen are eliminating shortcomings in their work. But there is still a long way to go to achieve really major success -- targets for oil extraction and the production of certain types of petroleum products are not being met. Laggardness must be eliminated by stepping up the pace of work.

"The accident at the Chernobyl AES, of course, further complicated the provision of energy for the national economy. Everything is now being done at Chernobyl to start up the neighboring units as soon as possible. The Ministry of Power and Electrification should carry out to a high standard and strictly on schedule the construction, installation, and tuning work at the projects scheduled for completion in 1986 -- the Kalininskaya, Zaporozhskaya, Rovenskaya, Balakovskaya, and Khmelnitskaya EAS's and the TET's in Novosibirsk, Tyumen, Khabarovsk, and other cities.'

The editorial goes on to deal with the importance of thrifty use of fuel and power and resource-saving measures, as well as the need for more efficient transportation. It notes: "Much depends on the introduction of progressive techniques and the improvement of the quality of output in various sectors." Domestic consumers must also be more thrifty. The editorial concludes: "The economical, thrifty use of resources is a necessary condition of intensive economic management and the successful fulfillment of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 5-year plan."

KUNAYEV SPEAKS ON KAZAKHSTAN'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

LD051229 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0542 GMT 5 Jul 86

[Text] Alma-Ata, 5 Jul (TASS) -- Kazakhstan is implementing the large-scale program for technical reequipment of heavy industry envisaged by the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress. Reorganization of 100 enterprises in the machine-building, power, chemical and mining industries has already been carried out in this Soviet Asian republic, which has a population of over 16 million. In the course of renewal of facilities, labor collectives have increased supplies of products to the domestic market and to 60 countries.

"As a result of the implementation of the republic reconstruction program without recourse to the construction of new enterprises, an increase in industrial output of almost double that in the plan has been achieved over 6 months in the 1st year of the 12th 5-Year Plan, Dinmukhamed Kunayev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member, first secretary of the Kazakhstan CP Central Committee, has said in an interview with a TASS correspondent. In Kazakhstan, as provided for the decision of the party congress, new organizational forms of linking science with practice -- the scientific production collectives -- are gathering force. Their specific recommendations are producing a considerable effect in machine building, ferrous metallurgy and power engineering.

"The party committees at enterprises, building sites, kolkhozes and sovkhozes, Dinmukhamed Kunayev stressed, are directing collectives toward the search for effective ways to modernize industry and agriculture. In a number of ministries and departments intermediate management links have been abolished. In some places we have had to replace leading cadres who were unable to reorganize in the new conditions.

I would allow myself to compare the course of reorganization and acceleration of socio-economic development with the first flight in space by a Soviet person, which began from the territory of Soviet Kazakhstan, Kunayev went on. Over a quarter of a century our republic, the harbor for spacecraft, has changed beyond recognition. The virgin lands have become the main base for grain production and the main supplier of ferrous and rate metals in the USSR."

A mighty fuel and power complex is developing at cosmic speed in the republic. Its reorganization is underway on a new technical base. This will provide the opportunity for increasing oil recovery in Kazakhstan by 44 percent, gas by 300 percent, and gas condensate by 600 percent by 1990. The development of new coal deposits and technical reequipment at thermal power stations will make possible an increase of more than 400 percnet in electricity generation.

"The Kazakh people, Kunayev said, have a proverb: "Your friend is not the man who speaks eloquently, but the man who does things well." So it is in life: We value people not for rhetoric about reorganization, but for their work qualities."

DOLGIKH ATTENDS MARITIME, FLEET WORKERS MEETING

LD042312 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1700 GMT on 4 July in its "Vremya" newscast carries a 1-minute report on a meeting held in Moscow on 4 July to mark Maritime and River Fleet Workers Day, celebrated on 6 July. Apart from shots of the audience, the video shows a medium shot of Dolgikh in the front row of the presidium with unidentified persons on either side and behind him, who are described as "leaders of ministries and departments, victors in socialist competition, scientists and representatives of the capital's public." It was pointed out at the meeting that the 27th CPSU Congress and the June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee required the water transport workers to overcome shortcomings quickly and to enter into a qualitatively new relationship with customers. The search for reserves is under way.

MINISTER SUMMARIZES MARITIME TRANSPORT INDUSTRY WORK

LD052231 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1018 GMT 5 Jul 86

[Text] Moscow, 5 Jul (TASS) -- Summer navigation along the whole northern sea route (over 8,000 km has opened up this year a month ahead of usual. The first to travel the route was the new Soviet atomic-powered vessel "Rossiya," which has paved a way for transport convoys to the coast of Chukotka. Having successfully overcome severe ice, has returned to Murmansk, its home port.

Commenting on this event, which has taken place on the eve of the Soviet seamen's professional holiday (6 July), USSR Minister Timofey Guzhenko stated to a TASS correspondent: Since the beginning of the new 5-year plan period (1986-90) the industry has charted a course for speeding up deliveries of national economic freight to regions difficult of access in the Arctic and Siberia. The prospecting for and extraction in the USSR of useful minerals, particularly fuel and energy minerals, is continuing to move further to the east and north, indicating the direction for transport convoys.

In the last 5-year plan period transportation of freight for oil and gas regions of Siberia increased by approximately 20 percent. In the future the fleet will be working even harder here.

Recalling that the deadweight of the Soviet fleet has reached 20 million tons, the minister reported: In the new 5-year plan period the rates for growth in tonnage will decrease somewhat. Despite this, by the year 1990 the freight turnover of maritime transport should grow by a minimum of 8 percent a stake has been made on more efficient use of material and labor resources and the utmost use in the industry of the achievements of scientific and technological progress.

Implementing the USSR's foreign economic ties, the maritime fleet ensures the independence of the country's foreign trade from the caprices of the capitalist charter market, noted Timofey Guzhenko. Soviet ships chart a course to the ports of 120 countries.

BRIEFS

AZERBAIJAN AVIATION -- The Azerbaijan SSR's aviation collectives have fulfilled the targets of the first 6-month plan ahead of time. About 800,000 passengers and 10,000 tons of cargo have cleared the republic's airports since the beginning of the year. Meanwhile, the aviation workers have sprayed over 200,000 hectares of agricultural lands. [Summary] [Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0105 GMT 28 Jun 86 GF]